

BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY'S  
PUBLICATIONS  
VOL XXVII

THE RECORDS OF A CHURCH OF CHRIST  
IN BRISTOL, 1640-1687



BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY'S  
PUBLICATIONS

*General Editor:* MR. PATRICK McGRATH, M.A.

*Assistant General Editor:* MISS ELIZABETH RALPH, M.A., F.S.A.

VOL. XXVII  
THE RECORDS OF A CHURCH OF CHRIST  
IN BRISTOL, 1640-1687





THE RECORDS OF A  
CHURCH OF CHRIST IN  
BRISTOL, 1640-1687

EDITED BY  
ROGER HAYDEN

*Printed for the*  
BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY  
1974

## DEDICATION

This volume is dedicated with respect and affection to George E. Barlow, M.A., of the Cambridgeshire High School for Boys, who first taught me to love History; to the Rev. Dr. Ernest A. Payne, C.H., who has continually encouraged me to explore Baptist Church History; and to the Rev. Dr. L. G. Champion, whose disciplined life demonstrates so clearly that academic study and an active ministry in the churches belong together.

© ROGER HAYDEN, 1974

*Printed in Great Britain by Northumberland Press Limited, Gateshead*

## FOREWORD

Bristol Record Society originally intended to publish as volume XXVII in its series *The Ledger of John Smythe*, edited by Mrs Jean Vanes. This was to be a joint publication with the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts and it was ready for printing before the end of 1973. Unfortunately, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, which is in charge of the production, has held up publication indefinitely owing to the present crisis and it is not possible to say precisely when the book will appear. The Society has therefore moved forward the publication date of the present volume, which now becomes vol. XXVII, and it wishes to express its gratitude to the editor, the Rev. Roger Hayden, M.A., B.D. not only for his work in preparing this new edition of *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol* but also for his cooperation in the change of programme.

The Society and the editor wish to express their gratitude to the following who have borne part of the cost of producing the book: the Baptist College, Bristol; Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol; the Whitley Lectureship Trustees; the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland; and the Baptist Historical Society.

The editor wishes to acknowledge his debt to all who have helped in the compilation of the volume. It arose out of a request from the Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, and the work was completed with the assistance of the Rev. Dr. E. A. Payne, C.H. He is particularly grateful for the help he received on many occasions from Miss Elizabeth Ralph, former city Archivist of Bristol, and from Miss Mary Williams, the present Archivist.

Patrick McGrath,  
Hon. General Editor,  
Bristol Record Society.



## CONTENTS

### INTRODUCTION

Editions of the Records . . . . .	1
Edward Terrill, Thomas Ellis and John Canne . . . . .	5
Elders and Ministers at Broadmead . . . . .	17
Belief, Worship and Practice . . . . .	47
Broadmead and the Clarendon Code . . . . .	57
The Persecution of other Bristol Dissenters . . . . .	70

THE TEXT: the Records of a Church of Christ . . . . .	77
---	----

ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	271
-------------------------	-----

### APPENDICES

(a) List of persons signing call to G. Fownes in 1679, given in Terrill's original text but omitted from Haycroft's text, p. 195 . . . . .	272
(b) List of members in 1679 when G. Fownes took pastoral charge, given in Terrill's original text but omitted from Haycroft's text, p. 205 . . . . .	273

### SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

(i) Manuscript material at Broadmead Baptist Chapel, Bristol . . . . .	276
(ii) Manuscript material held at Bristol Baptist College . . . . .	276
(iii) Other works consulted . . . . .	277

### INDICES

(a) People mentioned <i>only</i> in the Introduction . . . . .	279
(b) People mentioned in Introduction <i>and</i> Text . . . . .	281
(c) Places mentioned in Introduction and Text . . . . .	311
(d) Index of selected subjects . . . . .	314



## INTRODUCTION: EDITIONS OF THE RECORDS

*The Records of a Church of Christ Meeting in Broadmead, Bristol, (1640-1687)* is the history of that church as originally noted by an elder of the Church, Edward Terrill (1634-1685), and then continued by various other unidentified members of the congregation. The *Records* is a bound volume which is still in the custody of the Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, and it is here reproduced as the text, with an introduction and explanatory notes.

The first printed edition of the *Records* was produced in 1847 by Edward Bean Underhill (1813-1901), who was the secretary of the Hanserd Knolly Society. The Society, formed in 1844, to promote "the publication of the works of early English and other Baptist authors" made the *Records* their second publication. Underhill consulted the manuscript original and then transliterated the Terrill text into modern English. He also included information found in note form at the back of Terrill's volume at the appropriate chronological place in his printed edition of that text. Underhill's edition, on p. 89, has a reference to a Mr. and Mrs. Angell Hollard: the entry comes from the notes at the end of the volume and are not found in Terrill's text at this point. Underhill also discovered a great deal of material in the form of correspondence relating to leaders at Broadmead, and these letters he transliterated and inserted at the appropriate chronological point in Terrill's text. Some of this correspondence has since been lost and Underhill's edition is the only copy now known.

The second printed edition of the *Records* was published by Nathaniel Haycroft, the minister at Broadmead 1848-1866, in the Bunyan Library series in 1865. Haycroft felt that Underhill had misrepresented the Terrill text by his insertion of the extra material. In his introduction Haycroft stated his purpose in producing a second printed edition in these terms: "The manuscript presented in this volume is an authentic and unique account of the trials and suffering of a non-conformist church . . . as they were recorded at the time by one of the elders." He further claimed that the text "has been reproduced with scrupulous exactness. The orthography, the division of paragraphs, the emphatic and doubly emphatic words so carefully marked in the original, and the capital letters with which so many words commence, are in every instance faith-

fully preserved. Nothing has been omitted, save two long lists of names whose publications would serve no purpose; nor have any letter, or memoranda from other quarters been intruded into the text." (p. ix). Haycroft's concern is clear, and because his text is the closest reproduction of the original, this text is the one used throughout. There are one or two places where my reading of the original differs from his, and my suggestions are noted at these points. The two lists of names which he saw fit to exclude are reproduced in their entirety in the appendices.

This third printed edition has been authorised by the present trustees of the Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, together with an introductory essay and notes on the original Terrill text. My aims have been to produce an accurate edition of the text by a comparison of Haycroft's edition with the original; to set the text within its background of seventeenth century Bristol non-conformity; to assess critically Terrill's *Records* by a comparison with other original sources; and to give as far as possible the relevant information relating to each person mentioned in the text. The 1673 Millerd's map of Bristol available from the City Museum, Bristol, will make clear the geographical references in the text.

Others have written about Broadmead in the seventeenth century. J. G. Fuller, in 1840, published *The Rise and Progress of Dissent in Bristol*. The work follows the main outline of the *Records*, but in the preface, reference is made to a manuscript prepared by Mr. Isaac James, a Broadmead deacon. James left three manuscripts, two of which relate to Broadmead and Bristol. The first manuscript, presented to the Bristol Education Society, consisted of his notes on dissenting churches in England arranged under counties. Much of the information given came from two manuscripts now in Dr. Williams' Library, one entitled, "The state of the Dissenting Interest", and the other known as the Thompson Manuscript. The second manuscript, held by the Bristol City Library, was an incomplete abridgement of the Terrill Manuscript. The third and most important manuscript, which is now in the possession of the Broadmead Church, was an abridgement of the *Records*, but it continues the story to 1790 with considerable additional material from other sources. James obviously had access to the Pithay Particular Baptist Church minutes from 1652 onwards. Fuller drew upon this manuscript though he omitted much of it in his published work.

Isaac James was born in 1759, the youngest surviving child of Samuel James. Isaac's grandfather, Philip, had been sent to Oxford to study for the Anglican ministry. He became a Baptist, left Oxford and eventually qualified as a doctor in Liverpool. He later became a noted Baptist minister in Swansea, Coventry, and in 1721 at Hemel Hempstead. Isaac's father, Samuel, went as a young man to help the ageing Baptist minister, John Needham, at Tilehurst Street, Hitchin. Samuel married Mary Needham, succeeded his father-in-law, and remained at Tilehurst Street till his death in 1773. Isaac



came to Bristol in 1773, entered Bristol Academy and was eventually the classical tutor there. He kept a shop in Wine Street, Bristol. Isaac married Jane Hall, the sister of Robert Hall, Jnr., the minister at Broadmead, where Isaac was a member and deacon.

Following a major reconstruction of the premises in the 1920s, Sir John Swaish, K.B.E., a member of Broadmead wrote: *Chronicles of Broadmead Church, Bristol, 1640-1923*. It was carefully though not critically written, and is to be valued for the many pictures of the church building it contains, since that building came down in 1967. Another monograph, by C. E. Shipley and R. L. Child, *Broadmead Origins*, which deals mainly with the early period, was published in 1940, to mark the church's tercentenary.



## CHAPTER I

### EDWARD TERRILL AND THOMAS ELLIS AND JOHN CANNE

#### I

Edward Terrill is recognised as the author of the *Records*, the benefactor who securely established Broadmead Chapel in the centre of Bristol, and the man who made possible the beginnings of the Bristol Baptist College. However, Terrill was more than a schoolmaster, he was a businessman of no mean ability who was deeply involved in the fast developing sugar industry with Barbados in the West Indies.

Terrill was born in 1634 and left in the care of his aunt, who probably lived in Almondsbury, a few miles out on the Gloucestershire side of the city. In 1640 he was brought to live in the city with his mother and the rest of the family, his father, Thomas, having died in 1638.<sup>1</sup> At the age of eleven he was apprenticed to David Haynes as a scrivener and stayed with him until 1660. On the "16th March 1645 Edward Terrill son of Thomas Terrill, late of Almondsbury, Gloucestershire, Agricola, deceased to David Haynes, scrivener, and Mary his wife for seven years."<sup>2</sup> Terrill worked as a writing-schoolmaster during these years, and also dealt with legal documents and accounts.<sup>3</sup> The term "scrivener" also had an application to financial dealings. "Money-Scriveners were understood to be those who received money to place it out at interest; and who supplied those who wanted to raise money on security; thus rendering himself useful to, and receiving a profit from, both parties".<sup>4</sup>

Terrill's religious experience began when he was 19. "Upon the 17th September, 1654, being Saturday, I was at a neighbour's shop, where one that was there read in one of *Aris Evan's* books, that though the people of God (meaning the cavaliers) did suffer for a time, yet that God would revenge or vindicate them, and, speaking against the Puritans, that they were not in truth. This made me to fear that I was not in the right way, for I did usually hear Mr.

<sup>1</sup> *Underhill*, pp. 57-69, where Terrill's own account of his conversion is printed.

<sup>2</sup> *BGAS*, Vol. 65, pp. 30, n. 44; p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Underhill*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>4</sup> T. E. Tomlin, *The Dictionary of Law*, Vol. II, (1809) under "Scrivener".

Ewins, who, I knew by his preaching, did own and hold with the puritans." This, combined with some rumours about the end of the world in 1656, put the fear of God into him, and after hearing the sermon of Mr. Ewins as usual the next day, he went to a meeting held in the house of Colonel Adrian Scroop, then Governor of Bristol. "No sooner had I sat down and beheld the people, but these words darted into my breast. This is the way, walk in it, with such joy in my soul, that I could almost have wept for joy, the tears standing in my eyes."<sup>5</sup>

This was the start of his spiritual journey towards baptism and membership at Broadmead. Six weeks later he was reading a work by the Broadmead elder, Robert Purnell, *The Way to heaven Discovered*, from which he received comfort and assurance. However, on Terrill's own admission, his relationships with Mary Haynes' maid were such that she "was a great temptation to me, that I knew not how to leave off". However, "shortly after, my mistress and the maid disagreeing, she went away. I was glad she was gone; to the next I kept myself more estranged". The extent to which this situation left its mark upon Terrill is perhaps revealed in the fact that he did not marry until 1668, when he married Mrs. Dorothy Heath, in St. Philip's Church, Bristol.

Sometime after the affair with the maid finished, Terrill heard Mr. Ewins on Romans 4.18, which encouraged him to trust in God. This all reached a climax on 11th August 1655, when he resolved to have a day of fasting and prayer about baptism by immersion. The fact that Purnell, Ewins, and the minister at Colonel Adrian Scroop's had all recently been baptised by immersion weighed with him, particularly when he read Hebrews 13.7: 'Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow.' However, he delayed openly confessing Christ in baptism, and it was not until March 16, 1656 "being the day my apprenticeship was ended", that he held another fast about the matter, a fast day which he observed every year of his life after that. In the May it was agreed that he should be received into church fellowship at Broadmead. However, a day or two before his baptism by immersion, he read a book supposedly by Dionysius, the Areopagite, named in Acts 17.34, and in the light of its contents withdrew from baptism. He could have received communion at Broadmead, "as their manner is to receive persons if they conceive the Lord hath wrought a work of grace in them." But Terrill felt he must resolve the baptismal issue for himself before he could share at the Lord's Supper.

On the first Wednesday in March, 1658, having the day free he went to hear the Rev. Henry Stubbs preach at St. Philip's. "Towards the close of the sermon, a child was brought into the meeting place, called the church, to be baptised, and Mr. Stubbs that preached

<sup>5</sup> This and following extracts from *Underhill*, pp. 57-69.

turned his discourse to the thing which he was going to administer.... Now that which he had to say was this: That baptism came in the room of circumcision, that by the command of God children were to be baptised; they were so till Christ came: they were so till Christ died. The death of Christ was not a loss but a privilege; if so why should not children be baptised?.... What a sandy formation this was to build upon. As for those five things he mentioned, it was discovered to me that there might be as much said for children to receive the Lord's Supper; which they did not allow, as, indeed, they should not." Soon after this he discovered that Dionysius' work was an acknowledged fraud, and he offered himself for baptism by immersion, so beginning an association with the Broadmead church which lasted until his death.

II

Terrill states that his apprenticeship with David Haynes was concluded on March 16th, 1656, but he did not seek full citizenship for himself until 1660. Between 1656 and 1660 he was settling in at Broadmead, making friends with the leaders there, among whom was Thomas Ellis.

The development of the West Indies as a new centre for the sugar trade took place in mid-seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> Ellis, whose family had been involved for the past two generations in the continental and Madeira trade, seized the opportunity to forge a trade link between Bristol and the West Indies, which would help to put the Bristol sugar trade on its feet. He bought Whitson Court, a large house near St. James' Church, in 1665. It was sited near the river Frome, and had a supply of lime-bearing water which was essential to successful refining processes. It was his close relationship with the Gonning family which probably brought him to this measure of involvement in the sugar trade. His father, Walter Ellis (d. 1658), was a merchant who possessed estates in Bristol and just outside it. His mother, Elizabeth Whittington, a sister-in-law of Jonathan Gonning, also came from an influential merchant family in the city. The Gonning family had been among the first to become involved in the sugar refining business, and it was Jonathan Gonning, Jnr., who from 1651 until his death in 1662, invested a considerable sum of money to revive the St. Peter's sugar refinery. Without doubt Thomas Ellis learned much from his cousin who died in 1662.

Ellis was not without experience in the trade. His grandfather, William Ellis, had been linked with the prominent merchant families of the city and had traded, on his own account, in the

<sup>6</sup> BGAS, Vol. 65, I. V. Hall, "Whitson Court Sugar House Bristol, 1665-1824" *passim* pp. 1-97.

sugar business with the Portuguese. Walter Ellis, Thomas' father, was shipping sugar in 1625 to the weight of 30 tons. Thomas, acquiring the rights of citizenship on 7 August 1641, probably traded in his own ships as "Captain" between 1640 and 1660. He probably shared in the opening up of the Islands of Barbados and Nevis where in 1657 he sent some 2,000 dozens of shoes. The Bristol Port Books for 1636-1660 are not legible, but during Charles II's reign Ellis is shown buying small quantities of brown sugars, mainly from Nevis. It seems that Ellis bought his raw materials from other Bristol merchants when he established Whitson Court, rather than send out his own agents to negotiate with the planters.

Ellis had a number of partners in his concern. Anthony Wood was the manager: a man with money to put in the business and a skill as a sugar refiner, he kept clear of Ellis' religious involvement at Broadmead. Just when Terrill joined Ellis is not known, but by 1666 Terrill was in possession of warehousing facilities on the banks of the river Frome at the same time as Ellis occupied Whitson Court. The correct interpretation of the term scrivener, and Terrill's involvement with Ellis till 1683, indicate that Terrill was in all probability acting as Ellis' broker, warehousing his goods, both imports and exports. One of the men who worked in the refinery was Godfrey von Ittern, whose wife Susanna was closely associated with Broadmead. A naturalised British subject, he had come from Hamburg in Germany to join the team working in Bristol. In 1670 Thomas Harris, an apothecary, joined the concern, investing £10 in the business. In 1679 he paid a sum of £747, which was the mortgage outstanding on his property at Whitson Court, and became a full partner.

This group provided the skills and the capital which made it possible for them to secure a share in the new sugar trade which was developing between Bristol and the West Indies. They were one with their fellow-Bristolians in preventing London merchants securing a monopoly of the raw sugar; and they were in healthy competition with contemporary Bristol merchant gentry, men like John Knight and his uncle, Sir John Knight, the elder, who ran a sugar baking business at the Great House on Augustine's Back, and others like Robert Aldworth, Giles Elldridge, and their successors at St. Peter's, Bristol. Common concern in trade, and a deep sympathy with the Broadmead congregation united Ellis' group at Whitson Court into a hard-working team in Restoration Bristol.

One of Ellis' aims through his business was to provide economic support for Broadmead, to which he was utterly devoted in these years. He did not seek public office to secure his trade position, nor effective marriages for his heirs; his concern was for the company of like-minded dissenters, such as John Teague, Andrew Gifford, Edward Terrill and his friends at Broadmead. As the years went by certain people on the City Council began to act on religious

grounds against Ellis, because he was housing the Broadmead congregation on his premises, but he remained loyal to Broadmead and continued in trade. The death of his son, Thomas, in 1683, after an illness contracted in the Ilchester prison, was a great sadness to him, and he seems to have moved to London. His involvement in the business grew less and eventually Terrill bought his share in Whitson Court and by 1682 Michael Pope, John Whiting (both mentioned in the *Records*) and Nehemiah Webb were renting the premises and the utensils from Terrill. When he died Terrill left the Whitson Court interest to his wife Dorothy, and after much legal wrangling the property came into the outright control of Michael Pope for £1189, in 1691.

The Terrill family had other interest in the West Indies. It is probably that William, Edward's son, managed a family plantation in Barbados. William married Rebecca, the daughter and co-heir of Colonel Thomas Spire, of "Mount Steadfast", St. Andrews, Barbados. Thomas Spire was a wealthy plantation owner, and in his will of 1682 he left his houses in Bristol, and his "Fontball" plantation in St. Michael's Barbados, to Rebecca. William Terrill, according to the marriage certificate, was of "Cabbage Tree Hall", Barbados and Bristol, England. They had one daughter, Mary, who later married John Alleyne of St. Andrews, Barbados.<sup>7</sup>

From the will of Terrill it is also clear that he was particularly close to Daniel Gwilliam and Robert Bodenham. Gwilliam was a merchant, and an elder at Broadmead, who administered Terrill's trusts for Broadmead. Robert Bodenham was a "sayle maker" who through Gwilliam received considerable property, much of which he left in trust for the Broadmead chapel and for the effective establishing of the College.<sup>8</sup>

An interesting side-light on Terrill is given in his comments upon coloured people who, contrary to the usual practice of the day, professed a belief in Christ. As early as the period when Broadmead was under Ingello he recounts at some length the conversion of an Ethiopian slave girl, Frances. In 1677, Ann Atkins, "a dark woman", was baptised and joined Broadmead, and was buried in the Redcross Lane Cemetery in 1695.<sup>9</sup> Previous to this in 1667 Latimer records: "A curious example of kidnapping human beings for deportation to America is recorded in the minutes of the court of the Aldermen in July. The justices note that one Dinah Black had lived for five years as servant to Dorothy Smith, and had been baptised and wished to live under the sound of the Gospel; yet her mistress (who had doubtless sold her) refused to take her back, and it was therefore ordered that she should be free to earn her living until the case was heard at the next Quarter Sessions. The Sessions book has perished. From the peculiar

<sup>7</sup> BGAS, Vol. 68, pp. 248-249.

<sup>8</sup> T. J. Manchee, *Bristol Charities*, pp. 275-284.

<sup>9</sup> *Records*, pp. 101, 189-190.

way in which she is described it may be assumed that Dinah was a negro woman captured on the African coast, and had lived as a slave in Bristol."<sup>10</sup> There was a Dorothy Smith in membership at Broadmead during these years, but the connection cannot be clearly established.<sup>11</sup>

In the Underhill edition of the *Records* the links of Broadmead with the West Indies are emphasised by the presence of a letter from Alice Adams (nee Simmons) who wrote from Nevis to the Church on 12th Feb., 1674. There was obviously very little to encourage her in the Christian faith out there. "As for my assembling myself amongst those whom you judge do separate from others, I know none such here, who do keep up these lively ordinances of the Lord; for Edward Barnes who you name . . . he only kept up family duty in his own house. So through grace, the Lord doth enable me . . . to do my duty in my own family."<sup>12</sup>

There is no way of establishing exactly when Terrill died, but it is known that on 7th January 1685/6 his wife married Thomas Vaux, the subsequent pastor of Broadmead.<sup>13</sup> *Bristol Charities* gives the details of the considerable estates which Terrill left to the church and for the provision of an educated ministry. There were six acres called Culver Close, near Maudlin Lane; a paddock called Puckingrove, beyond Red Lodge on the way to Clifton; two houses with stables and gardens just outside Lawford's Gate, plus four acres of ground in the King's Marsh, Barton Regis; the "Three Pigeons" at the Quay Head, and the house opposite; a house in Baldwin Street; three houses on Michael's Hill; and the Whitson Court complex. The last named was reserved to his wife's interest, and she sold this in 1691 to Michael Pope. The remainder of the property was to be used "for the congregation of which Edward Terrill was a member and Thomas Hardcastle was pastor". The money was delegated in various ways. Ten poor people were to receive a sum following Terrill's death, and the remainder was to be administered "for the subsistence of a holy, learned, man, well skilled in the tongues, to wit Greek and Hebrew, and should profess and practice the truth of believers baptism as a pastor or teacher to the congregation aforesaid, as to another, after his death successively forever." There was also a provision for paying £10 per year, for a maximum of four years, to poor Baptist students.<sup>14</sup> He also left money to the poor at Almondsbury, where he had lived with his aunt, and something for Thomas Hardcastle's daughter: "Prisona alias Mary".<sup>15</sup> The provisions for the Broadmead chapel

<sup>10</sup> *Latimer*, p. 344.

<sup>11</sup> *Records*, pp. 136, 208, 237, 266.

<sup>12</sup> *Underhill*, pp. 183-184.

<sup>13</sup> *E. Ralphs*, (ed) *Marriage Bonds of the Diocese of Bristol (1637-1700)*.

<sup>14</sup> T. J. Manchee, *op. cit.*, pp. 280-284.

<sup>15</sup> See DNB entry for Thomas Hardcastle, and plaque in Almondsbury, Gloucestershire, parish church.



and the training of Baptist ministers came into effect when Robert Bodenham established a trust fund in 1715 to make Terrill's wishes an effective reality.<sup>16</sup>

### III

In the past, readers of the *Records* have too readily assumed that Terrill was an adequate eye-witness of all the events he described. This assumption is unwise, particularly regarding the years prior to 1658, when Terrill actually joined Broadmead. The enigmatic figure of these early years is John Canne (1570-1667) who, Terrill claims, was a "baptised man". He recounts an event at Westerley, a few miles from Bristol, when Canne's "anabaptist" views led to his exclusion from the parish church and a discussion with the parish minister about the necessity for separation from the Church of England. He also states that Canne left a book for the guidance of Broadmead, having "established them in church order". This was in the year 1640, and the impression is that Broadmead was a Baptist church from that date.<sup>17</sup> The evidence of other contemporary records leads to the conviction that Canne was never a Baptist; that his visit to Bristol is probably to be dated 1648, not 1640; and a careful study of Terrill's text reveals that his reliability prior to 1654 is open to question.

The only claim that is ever made for John Canne being a Baptist, is the one which Terrill makes here. Champlin Burrage wrote of John Canne: "In none of his many extant writings does John Canne claim, or speak of, any connection with the Anabaptists, nor so far as I can remember, does he refer to re-baptism, 'dipping', or other matters such as he would have been certain to mention had he been an Anabaptist. Even his enemies never branded him with that name."<sup>18</sup> When Terrill notes that a woman at Westerley called Canne an "anabaptist" this had no reference to Canne's belief, since the word was a common term of religious abuse in the seventeenth century to describe those who held extreme Separatist ideas. John Wilson, who has recently re-examined the evidence for Canne being a Baptist also concludes that Canne was never a Baptist.<sup>19</sup> There being no evidence from Canne himself, or his contemporaries that he was Baptist, it must be admitted that Terrill incorrectly calls Canne a "baptized man".

In Burrage's article five letters between Canne and William Sykes are published. The first is dated 20th May 1640; the second, a

<sup>16</sup> T. J. Manchec, op. cit., pp. 275-280.

<sup>17</sup> *Records*, pp. 90-93.

<sup>18</sup> *TBHS*, Vol. III, p. 245 ff. Champlin Burrage, "Was John Canne a Baptist?", pp. 212-246.

<sup>19</sup> John F. Wilson, *Church History*, March 1964.

promissory note, is dated 21st December 1640; and the third is dated August 20th 1643, new stile.<sup>20</sup> All these letters came from Amsterdam, where Canne had been involved in the unifying of two Brownist congregations in that city, a task which he completed in 1645. Obviously Canne was not in Bristol in 1640.<sup>21</sup> The two other letters were written from London during October 1647.<sup>22</sup> This evidence led Burrage to place Canne's Bristol visit in 1648, a dating which John Wilson also substantiates.

If John Canne was not a Baptist, and came to Bristol in 1648 and not 1640, certain questions regarding Terrill's account of Broadmead's origin need answering. How did the church originate between 1640 and 1652? What part did Canne play and when during these years?

From the internal evidence of the *Records* themselves, Terrill did not start writing them until 1672, that is thirty-two years after the events he here records, and his contribution finishes in 1680. From 1675 Robert Bodenham and Henry Davis began a weekly record of the abuses which the congregation suffered, noting them in what came to be known as the "waste book".<sup>23</sup> After 1680 seven pages of text in the *Records* are added in an unknown hand, and the rest of the material was written up by Bernard Foskett, the Broadmead minister in 1720, on the basis of the material collected by Davis and Bodenham. Robert Bodenham died in 1720, and perhaps it was he who passed Terrill's *Records* to Foskett. The "waste book" has since been lost.<sup>24</sup> The *Records* are therefore a composite document.

In preparing his manuscript Terrill may have consulted people who were alive during the period, one of whom, Dorothy Hazzard, was still alive in 1672. Terrill was very selective in his use of printed contemporary evidence, and it is possible he did not consult eye-witnesses at all. For example, in his account of his own conversion he refers to a work by Robert Purnell (1606-1666) which greatly helped him, but in the *Records*, though he indicates Purnell's position as a teaching elder in the church, he gives no indication of the number and significance of Purnell's published works between 1649 and 1657.<sup>25</sup> A further example is his very sparing use of the published controversy between Broadmead and Dennis Hollister in the mid-1650s. The pamphlets give a vivid picture of the situation when Hollister left Broadmead to become

<sup>20</sup> *TBHS*, Vol. III, pp. 225-230.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 230-233.

<sup>23</sup> *Records*, p. 109. At page 220, Terrill's handwriting ceases.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220, end of fourth paragraph to p. 225; and p. 266, beginning, "3d. Mo., 22nd day" to p. 270 are in an unknown hand. The text from p. 225 para. 3 to p. 266, "comfortable opportunity" are in the writing of Bernard Foskett.

<sup>25</sup> *Underhill*, p. 61, where Terrill refers to R. Purnell's: *The Way to Heaven Discovered*.

a Quaker, and also relate some of the discussion which had gone on before this. A comparison of Terrill's account with those pamphlets shows the selective nature of Terrill's writing.<sup>26</sup>

A careful scrutiny of the *Records* reveals Terrill's own emphases in telling the story. He begins by describing the break with Rome in Henry VIII's reign, the Elizabethan settlement and the dissatisfaction which Puritans felt with this Settlement between 1600 and 1640.<sup>27</sup> He then turns to the Bristol scene, and notes the importance of William Wroth (d. 1642) the Independent minister at Llanvaches, near Chepstow, for the growth of separatist sympathies in Bristol. Wroth encouraged the group which was led by Yeamans, the dean of the Cathedral, and Anthony Kelly.<sup>28</sup> When Yeamans died the impetus for this group passed to Matthew Hazzard, and his wife Dorothy, the widow of Anthony Kelly.<sup>29</sup> In 1640 a group of five decided not to hear "common prayer", but went in during the singing of the Psalm to hear Mr. Hazzard preach.<sup>30</sup> It is at this point that Terrill introduces Canne as a "baptised man". But in recording what Canne did for them, Terrill does not mention baptism. Canne settled them in Church Order" showing them "the Difference betwixt ye Church of Christ and Anti-Christ, and left them with a printed booke treating of ye same."<sup>31</sup> Then comes the incident at Westerley, when Terrill takes his cue from the mention of the prejudice which attached to the name Anabaptist.<sup>32</sup> In this he argues for the validity of believer's baptism provided the people who practise it also hold "all other Sound Principles of Christian Religion equall with ye Godly, called Presbyterians and Independents; which was Mr. Cann's case."<sup>33</sup> The next paragraph begins: "But to return to our Narrative of ye Lord's carrying on the Truth of Separation." In fact, it was separation, not baptism, which was debated by Canne at Westerley.<sup>34</sup> Terrill claims that as a result of Canne's visit "they stept further in separation" and "would not so much as hear any minister that did read Common Prayer". Then follows another digression of Terrill's in which he gives twelve reasons for such a separation. This is obviously Terrill's own view and did not necessarily represent the thinking of the Broadmead congregation at this time. As Terrill states: "Thus I have briefly recited Twelve steps that doth compleate a demonstration that they, this church, in their begining, were truly reformed in great measure."<sup>35</sup> However, baptism is *not* one of the issues involved. Between 1640 and 1642 Broadmead received help from a minister called Robert Bacon, and then a Mr. Pennill, both having separatist sympathies. When Walter Cradock (1606-1659), an Independent minister, and the Llanvaches church

<sup>26</sup> D. Hollister, *The Skirts of the Whore Discovered* (1656) and *The Harlot's Veil Removed* (1658); and T. Ewins: *The Church of Christ in Bristol Recovering her Veil* (1657).

<sup>27</sup> *Records*, pp. 81-83.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-89.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 93-96.

fled to Bristol at the outbreak of the Civil Wars, Cradock was accepted as Broadmead's pastor, and administered the Lord's Supper to both congregations in St. Ewins' Church, Bristol.<sup>36</sup> When Bristol fell to the Royalist forces in 1643, both congregations moved to London and worshipped at All Hallows, Terrill adding "(Only those professors that were baptised before they went up, they did sit down with Mr. Kiffin and his church in London, being likewise Baptised)".<sup>37</sup> This is the only indication that any at Broadmead were baptised at this time. Terrill provides no other evidence for the baptism of believers at Bristol during this period.

When the congregations returned in 1645 the whole situation was changed. In London the members had been involved in controversy, and this resulted in continuing friction in Bristol. The group which was to become known as Broadmead made a completely new beginning upon a new theological basis which contained no reference to baptism.<sup>38</sup> This group met within the structures of the parish church, a "church" within a church. Each Sunday, they worshipped at All Saints, Bristol, in the morning, and in the afternoon met at the home of Mrs. Richard Nethway. During the week they met for "conference" around the Scriptures. The minister of All Saints, Nathaniel Ingello (1621-1683), was called to be their pastor, and he administered the sacraments to them during the next four or five years, until the congregation fell out with Ingello whom they deemed too worldly in his love for music and "flaunting apparell".<sup>39</sup> Was this re-action against Ingello the result of the teaching and visit of John Canne in 1648? In 1650 Broadmead approached Thomas Ewins (d. 1670) formerly of All Hallows, London, and now an independent minister at Llanvaches to be their teacher. He was appointed by the Bristol authorities as a Lecturer at various churches in the city in 1651.<sup>40</sup>

It was in 1651 that Terrill first mentions the discussion about "Sprinkling of Children" when the members "began to Question what Rule they had for it" and could discover no Scriptural authority. Terrill records a discussion about the argument which sought to support infant baptism on the basis of the Covenant with Abraham,<sup>41</sup> a passage which bears a close resemblance to his own thinking in his testimony, where he related his rejection of similar views when they were expounded by Henry Stubbs, the minister of St. Philip's Bristol in 1658.<sup>42</sup> In 1652 Thomas Munday, a Broadmead member, left over the issue of believers' baptism and joined "the other Church in Bristol that were all Baptised, having one Henry Hynam for their teacher."<sup>43</sup> Terrill could not have been unaware of their existence, but this is the first indication in the *Records* of the existence of Pithay Particular Baptist Church, a further example of Terrill's selective use of his material.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-98.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-105.

<sup>42</sup> *Underhill*, p. 67.

<sup>43</sup> *Records*, p. 105. T. Munday was received into Pithay on June 18 1653.

When another member, Timothy Cattle, sought baptism in 1653 the church declared "that if any were convinced of that ordinance, they might practise it; desireing that such persons so convinced, and practising that ordinance of Baptism in that Scripturall manner would keep their places in the Church, and not leave their communion notwithstanding." Cattle was baptised in London, by Henry Jessey, minister of an open communion Baptist church at All Hallows. "After this divers other of ye church were Baptised, according to Scripture example in a River."<sup>44</sup> Perhaps the baptisms took place in 1654 when Jessey visited Bristol "to endeavour the settling and establishing of the minds of the People of This Cittie against the pernicious doctrines of the Quakers." Terrill claims that it was the trouble with Hollister which caused Ewins and Purnell to ask themselves whether the troubles that had come upon the church were because "they had not walked faithfull to their light in ye ordinances of God . . . and that they had not kept close to ye Holy Scriptures for ye Rule of Worship . . . and blamed themselves that they had not rejected all notions of men whatsoever for worship, than what is plainly laid down in the written Word." Convinced of this they were baptised by Jessey in London in 1654.<sup>45</sup>

This detailed account of Terrill's *Records* for this period has illustrated the necessity of treating his statements about the origins of the church prior to 1654 with some caution. For reasons of his own Terrill decided not to use the contemporary evidence which he knew was available, and relying upon some incorrect information respecting John Canne he has created an illusion which has lead others to describe Broadmead incorrectly as a Baptist Church from its inception in 1640. From other material he uses, it is clear that baptism became an issue in the early 1650s. Even in 1653 the congregation was not to be identified with the Particular Baptist position of those at the Pithay. Broadmead aligned itself from the beginning, through men like Cradock, and later Ewins and Hardcastle (1636-1678) with the London congregation which was led by Henry Jessey, adopting an open communion position which accepted paedobaptists and those baptised as believers, as members of one church, meeting together at the Lord's Table. The technical phrase was treating "saints as saints". By 1688, however, perhaps under the influence of Terrill and certainly under the common pressure of bitter persecution, Broadmead had adopted a Particular Baptist position. Broadmead's pastor, Thomas Vaux (d. 1693/4) who married Mrs. Dorothy Terrill in 1685, attended as a messenger the Particular Baptist General Assembly in 1689 and again in 1692, in company with the pastor of the Pithay, Andrew Gifford (1642-1671).

Burrage believed that the reason for the misleading presentation

<sup>44</sup> *Records*, p. 105.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

was Terrill's lack of critical acumen. "By this means a somewhat more harmonious description of the origin of the Broadmead Church was produced, which has proved a great hindrance to clear historical thinking." However, it must be readily conceded that after 1654 Terrill's account is accurate, as a comparison with such contemporary records as the Bristol Quarter Sessions book for the period demonstrates.

The important question is why Terrill wrote the *Records* in the first place? Terrill was not an impartial chronicler of events. His opening pages reveal his concern to illustrate from the history of the church the religious convictions which were at the heart of its existence. It was perhaps this concern which led him to accept the verbal claims made for Canne by an elderly Dorothy Hazzard. His uncritical acceptance of the Canne story may have arisen from Terrill's extremely strong convictions on baptism, as his own account of his early religious experience illustrates. It may have been this conviction which led him to the lengthy digressions on baptism and separatism which appear on pages 91-95 and 103-105. When these factors are combined with an accurate estimate of the time and significance of Canne's Bristol visit, a first, but incorrect, impression is given that Broadmead was a Particular Baptist Church almost from its inception.

The date 1672 is also significant for understanding Terrill's purpose. In that year dissenters had a brief period of official recognition from the state. Did this encourage him to write the Church's story? By this date the majority of the Broadmead members were baptised as believers, and most were received into membership following baptism. Was Terrill hoping, when he began the *Records*, to encourage a closer identification with the Pithay congregation, an identification which became a reality under the pressure of persecution in the next decade?

The *Records* were not a church document. They began as a private concern of Terrill's, and only became the records of Broadmead when the book came into the possession of Bernard Foskett, who continued the story with material from the "waste book". Terrill, a scrivener by profession, began the record for personal reasons which can now only be guessed at: only incidentally have they become the basis of the history of the Broadmead church.

All these factors have in some measure affected Terrill's account. His inaccuracy regarding Canne has caused confusion in the past, but once this has been recognised, alongside his own personal interests in writing the material initially, it is evident that he has been faithful to the sources he did select. Edward Terrill was no exception to the fact that the interpretation of history begins with the man who records the events.

## CHAPTER II

### ELDERS AND MINISTERS AT BROADMEAD

Terrill's selective attitude towards his sources, means he leaves out much significant material concerning the attitudes and actions of those whom he mentions. While most of this can be accommodated in the footnotes to his text, it is important to document as fully as possible the events prior to 1642 which led to the formation of the congregation, and the lives of the subsequent elders and ministers at Broadmead.

Before the Broadmead congregation came into existence there were forces at work which made dissent possible and from 1640 onwards there was a variety of religious groups struggling towards a meaningful existence, of which Broadmead was one of the earliest but certainly not the only one.

The origin of Broadmead has within it three distinct strands. First was the influence of ministers with puritan sympathies before 1640. As early as 1605 the City Council had a taste for sermons, and directed that a letter be sent to the President of St. John's College, Oxford, requesting the appointment of a lecturer to preach twice a week in the city, for £50 per year. Nothing came of this, or a similar approach to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford in 1606. In January 1607 Mr. Edward Chetwynd, who eventually became Dean of Bristol, had his removal expenses from Oxford met, and was settled with a stipend of £52 a year, and a house rent free.<sup>1</sup> The puritan emphasis is revealed by the fact that he was not required to lecture at the Christmas, Easter, or Whitsun holidays unless he thought fit. Two other lecturers of puritan sympathies were appointed soon after, Thomas Thompson, and Mr. Yeamans as vicar of St. Philip's church.<sup>2</sup> It was Yeamans who gathered the group around him from which were to spring the congregations at Broadmead, the Castle, and the Pithay. They met with him from about 1613 onwards until his death in 1633.

Secondly there was a group of lay people who are not known beyond the very scant facts recorded about them by Terrill. They were probably the rising tradesmen of the period who identified themselves with the Parliamentary group. Dennis Hollister, who

<sup>1</sup> *CR*, p. 114. His son John was ejected, but afterwards conformed.

<sup>2</sup> *Latimer*, pp. 23-24, 48, 71.

was associated with Broadmead in its inception, was brought before the magistrates, along with William Cooke another grocer in the High Street, and charged with keeping a conventicle and causing a riot for several hours in front of Cooke's shop, in August 1641.<sup>3</sup> Terrill notes the alarm which was occasioned when a group met at William Listun's house for a similar purpose.<sup>4</sup> Latimer states that "the first recorded enunciation from a Bristol pulpit of advanced Puritanical opinions was made in September (1640) by the Rev. Matthew Hazzard . . . In consequence of the Scotch War a form of prayer for the success of the King's Arms had been drawn up by order of the government and was required to be read in every parish church. One clause of this formula denounced the traitorous subjects who had cast off obedience to their united sovereign and were rebelliously seeking to invade the realm. Mr. Hazzard thought proper to omit this condemnation and substituted for it a prayer that God would reveal to the King those traitorous enemies that disturbed the public peace and molested the hearts of the church and of faithful people. His expressions were reported to the Corporation, but they declined to express any opinion on the matters."<sup>5</sup>

Matthew Hazzard and his wife, Mrs. Dorothy Kelly, played a major part in the defence of the city against the Royalists. One contemporary describing the actions of the puritans before the city fell speaks of "Matthew Hazzard, who though I name last yet deserves to have the precedency of all the rest, as being a main Incendiary in this Rebellion violently egged on by his wife, whose disciple the silly man is." The same publication states that Mistress Hazzard a jealous sister resolved that "it's pity but that their childrens' brains should be dashed out against the stones, that no more of their race might remain on the face of the Earth and if we consider how Fiennes hath dealt with the widows and their children, you could not think Mistress Hazzard singular in the opinion".<sup>6</sup>

Colonel Fiennes eventually surrendered the city to the Royalist forces for which he was brought to trial by Parliament. From the depositions made by various people at the time it is clear that those who were later associated with Broadmead and the Pithay congregation were deeply involved. Dorothy Hazzard recounts how she helped to defend the walls, and lost all her goods when the castle was surrendered. A certain Henry Hazzard was a Master Gunner who gave evidence against Fiennes. Thomas Munday, who left Broadmead in 1653 to join the baptized congregation at the Pithay, was one of the Garrison soldiers who felt that Fiennes had betrayed them. Jeremy Holway, a merchant and an Independent

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> *Records*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>5</sup> *Latimer*, pp. 148-149.

<sup>6</sup> *The Two State Martyrs, or the murder of Robert Yeomans and George Birch, Citizens of Bristol* (1643), pp. 11, 40-41.



who took out a licence for his house in Corn Street in 1672, also gave evidence before the Lord Mayor of London about the loss of Bristol to the Royalist forces.

Matthew Hazzard left Bristol during the civil war, and was Rector of East Barnet in Hertfordshire, where in July 1644 he refused to pay any money for the support of the ejected rector's wife. He returned to Bristol in 1645.<sup>7</sup>

Thirdly, when Yeamans died in 1633 and before Matthew Hazzard settled in 1639 the group received great help from certain Welsh puritans who were centred upon Llanvaches under the leadership of Wroth and Cradock. They visited Broadmead regularly and for a short while before Bristol fell to Prince Rupert, Cradock and the Llanvaches church met with the Broadmead group, first at the Dolphin Inn and later in a baker's on St. James's Back, having communion together. This group of Welsh ministers were exponents of the "saints qua saints" view of the church which had an open communion table for all believers regardless of differing views of baptism. The whole situation in the city went into the melting pot when Prince Rupert took Bristol, for the majority of dissenters left for London. When the dissenters went to London most of them worshipped with Henry Jessey and the Independent church meeting at All Hallows. During this period Jessey's church discussed the whole question of the validity of infant baptism at length. Some joined with William Kiffin as members of a Particular Baptist Church. Others remained in membership and the baptism of believers was left an open question for each member to decide for himself. All Hallows had already established close links with Llanvaches and Cradock. Broadmead was reconstituted on returning to Bristol when the group met under the guidance of Dr. Nathaniel Ingello, a parish minister who led them from 1646 to 1649. In 1651 Thomas Ewins a former member of Jessey's church and now minister at Llanvaches was appointed City Lecturer in Bristol, and assumed the pastoral oversight of Broadmead.

Thomas Ellis and Edward Terrill have already been considered and attention will now be given to the other elders and ministers at Broadmead.

(a) *Robert Purnell* (1606-1666)

Purnell was a member with Broadmead for over thirty years. He was a carpet weaver and lived on St. James's Back, Bristol. He was married and had at least one son, John, an ironmonger in

<sup>7</sup> *A True and Full Relation of the Prosecution, Arraignment, Tryall and Condemnation of Nathaniel Fiennes*. William Prynne and Clement Walker, London (1664), pp. 16, 17, 42, 44. *Catalogue of the Witnesses*, pp. 21, 27, 32, 33. *CR*, p. 255.

Maryport Street, Bristol, who was also a member of Broadmead from 22nd June 1674.<sup>1</sup>

Robert Purnell is best known to us, not through the *Records* but through his considerable writings published between 1649 and 1659, copies of which survive in the British Museum.

His first book is entitled *Good Tydings for sinners, Great joy for Saints*. This intriguing book deals with the offer of the Gospel to all sinners, examines the existing forms of church government, and criticises each in turn, before finally giving a brief description of a "true Church-state" as Purnell conceives it.

Purnell's basic conviction is put in the opening pages:

"I myself having had communion with the saints in each of these forms, more or lesse: their principles and practices I have in some measure weighed, examined, and tryed with an unbyassed affection: And I finde among all these (excepting those in this book excepted) many excellent, sweet and sound truths, both in Doctrine and Discipline, Principle and Practise, worthy not onely of commendation but also our imitation.

"But notwithstanding, there are many things which savour more of the flesh than of the Spirit among all these Assemblies, which are rather of man's invention than of God's institutions: as their knowing Christ and the saints after the flesh; crying Lo here, Lo there is Christ; and most in a sence building upon the sand. Whereof I have prohesied of their fall, in which I mean not that they shall be without church order but they shall have Pastors and Teachers, Elders and Deacons, Helps and Governments. But the ground of this communion shall be spirituall union: and when this day is dawning, and this day-star risen in our hearts, Ephraim shall not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim; Presbyterians shall not bitterly cry out against Independents, nor Independents have such hard thoughts of Presbyterians. Yea they shall be ashamed to own one another by their fleshly titles, but look upon and love one another as Christians, members of the same body, heires of the same Promise, children of the same Father: having all the same Spirit, all clothed with the same robe, inclined to the same work; ruled by the same Word and Spirit. And so their love of each other shall arise from union in the Spirit. And against this church-state the gates of hell shall not prevail."<sup>2</sup>

He begins with a call to sinners to repent and accept Christ as their Saviour.<sup>3</sup> Then Purnell turns to each of the major sects in turn. His main contention with Presbyterians was the way in which their ministers complained about the present Parliament and the Army, and with the frequent claim that both were pulling down the Magistracy and the Ministry. He asked the Presbyterians to

<sup>1</sup> *Records*, pp. 111, 113, 117, 122, 142, 205, 206, 228, 256, 264. BRS, Vol. XIII, ii, p. 37. *BBR*, pp. 3, 10.

<sup>2</sup> R. Purnell, *Good tydings for sinners, Great joy for Saints* (1649).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-20.

stop charging others with breaking the Solemn League and Covenant. They were quick enough to call the King "a high delinquent", and in the Covenant to ask for "condigne punishment" of such offenders, yet they refused to take the action necessary, and left it to the Army. He said they should "lay aside cold, lukewarm, letter-preaching . . . having a form but not the power". He further told them to "leave off the idolizing of humane learning", and "your kindling of *flames* in the State, and blowing the bellows of contention and vaine jangling and fall to preaching the Gospel of Peace."

He indicated some necessary steps to be taken immediately. First make preaching the gospel to every creature their aim, putting faith first because "repentance is a fruit of faith, not a preparation for faith." He asked why they were afraid of being questioned in public, and wished he "could see the ministers of England as willing to be taught as they are to be teachers". He wanted them to be careful to feed the church, and "to heal the wounds with which we languish, not to make more." Fourth he required them to seek their maintenance in no unjust way: "but cast yourselves upon the providence of God: as for the salvation of your souls, so also for the maintenance of your bodies . . . what means this bleating of sheep and lowing of oxen, your pleading for tythes in your pulpits?" The task is to give offence to no man, but to commend Christ to all.<sup>4</sup>

Regarding the Independents the problem was they consider themselves above other Christians. They preferred the rich to the poor, and despised a man for being a Presbyterian, instead of loving a Christian. They are too fond of rich clothes and attire, and ignore the great needs of the poor saints. Most damaging of all, remarks Purnell, "you speake only to Saints enlightened . . . all your studies are how to build up Saints . . . you doe not pittie the poore blinde world, and endeavour to bring them into the knowledge of the truth by laying before them the free love of God through Jesus Christ."<sup>5</sup>

The Anabaptists are commended by Purnell for administering "a right ordinance to right objects" and for making Scripture central to their thinking. But he is somewhat critical of them. Independents and Presbyterians may "sin by sleighting Baptisms, but thou sinnest in idolizing of it." Baptists "suffer no man (though never so well gifted) to speak among you . . . unless he be joyned to you by the ordinance of Baptisme with water, and though he be baptized with the Baptisme of the Spirit without which that of water is nothing." He also faulted them for taking the literal and not the "spiritual" sense of the Scriptures. His final rebuke is that they "make baptisme the ground of your communion, and so disorder what God hath ordered for the ground of communion should arise

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 29-44.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 44-48, 57.

first from that union you have with Christ your head and secondly from that near relation you have each to other, as being one in the same Spirit.”<sup>6</sup>

Those who took the Free-Will or General Redemption position, Purnell commended for their missionary strategy, in preaching that Christ died for all men, and that all must be offered the Gospel for the forgiveness of their sins. But he faulted them for using Scripture to their own ends, and ignoring the Scriptures which speak of particular redemption. They were also guilty of failing to preach the Gospel, and of causing division among the sects of the time. Basically their doctrine implied that salvation rested upon works, not grace, which was a clear denial of Scripture.

The “new notionists”, by which he probably means the precursors of the Quakers are like the Laodiceans, of whom no good thing can be said, and Purnell rebukes them for ignoring the Scriptures and the recognised Gospel ordinances.<sup>7</sup>

He concluded with a word to all the sects mentioned and points out the error of making their “communion the ground of your union” and not basing it upon Christ. This is knowing Christians after the flesh and is the cause of so much division. Once each of the sects realises this they “will not so much cry up forms but endeavour the power of godliness.”<sup>8</sup>

The final section of the book gave Purnell’s own view of a true “church-state, or communion of Saints that shall stand against all opposers.” This is of interest because it outlines the dominant concepts in Broadmead when it was probably led by Purnell. Beginning with 1 Corinthians he established the principle that communion is not based upon a party spirit; this “knowing of Christ and Christians after the flesh must vanish”. The only valid unity is to be found in “a communion of Saints arising from a cleare apprehension of their union with saints” and he quotes 1 Corinthians 12; 13, 14, 20 in support of this.

“Now when a Saint comes to see that everyone in whom the Lord Jesus appeareth, though in the least measure, is a member together with him in the same body, whereof Christ is the head; then his heart longeth to joyne himself in fellowship with such, who have fellowship with the father and the son in the spirit whether in ordinances or otherwise.”

He considers that he and “all the faithfull under the whole Heavens have all one father, all one mother, all one elder Brother, all one calling, all one hope of their calling, all clothed with the same robe, all inclined to the same works, all united by the same spirit, all ruled by the same word, and so he honours them all, as the body of Christ, and nourished and cherisheth them all, as his owne body.”

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 57-58.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 59-66.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 67-68.

He gives two reasons why the saints ought to be thus joined. First, because they are commanded to stand in one Spirit, Phil. 1.27; and second because they must offer such spiritual worship to God, (John 4.23/4, 1 Pet. 2.5).

"Oh ye sons of Sion! Behold your union with God, consider also that ye are one, not with some (onely) but with all the Saints under whatsoever forme they be. Wherefore love them all, pity them all, doe good to them all, and as you are united in one spirit, so let the work and spirit be your rule. When you have gathered yourselves together according to the order of the Gospel, choose to yourselves Pastors, and Teachers Elders, and Deacons, make use of all God's ordinances but rely upon none, looke upon them all but as Pipes and Organs through which he conveys himself to the soule."<sup>9</sup>

This final section gives a personal account of Purnell's own views of the true Christian faith, which takes the generally accepted Calvinistic view, but does not commit him to any statement about the sacraments, or church government. He obviously held that here there was liberty, as long as the Christians were willing to accept one another "in the Spirit of Christ".

Purnell's *No power but of God, and yet a Power in every creature*, has two main parts. In the first he discusses why a man is answerable to God for his life; and in the second he maintains that the Gospel ordinances are still in force.<sup>10</sup>

In the epistle to the reader, Purnell asserts his unwillingness to get involved in party disputes:

"For this Treatise, as much as in me lyeth, I have avoided the crying up of any party or opinion . . . wishing with my whole heart that there were but only these two names under Heaven to know the Sonnes and daughters by, viz. Saints and Sinners . . ."

The book consists of several different sections. The opening pages speak of the three necessary things for a Christian to do at all times: 'First to put on the armour of Christ. Secondly to abide in the doctrine of Christ. Thirdly to live in the will of God.'<sup>11</sup>

This is elaborated at some length, and the way in which the doctrine of free grace is perverted is noted on several occasions. "Against the doctrines of Christ, which saith thou art freely justified by Grace, Rom. 3.24, in comes anti-Christ and tells thee it is partly by works: And so though thou dost not seek to be justified by the Law, yet it is as it were by the works of the law . . . In a word Creation, Election, Redemption, Justification and Sanctification are all of Free-grace to which both old and new Testaments speaks abundantly."<sup>12</sup>

On the matter of discipline he is equally firm: Discipline "is

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 68-69.

<sup>10</sup> R. Purnell, Second Edition, London (1652).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

absolutely necessary to the wellbeing of a church .... a church without government is as a ship without a Pilot or a Commonwealth without a Magistrate ...”<sup>13</sup>

For Purnell, the question of ordinances was swiftly resolved. They are of divine origin, and both old and New Testament saints benefited from them. The experience of the church in the past and any external form of the church now demands them. The Lord rebuked those who left them and commanded them till the “saints are perfected”, even in the period of the millennium. The ministrations are necessary to make clear the distinction between Law and Gospel. If the commands to do these things are no longer valid, then neither are any of the Scriptural commands of Christ.

The book continues with a series of sections such as “Dialogue between Law and Gospel”; “What Christ hath delivered us from and restored us unto”; “A few words of Faith”; and “A word to the Ministry, or a few words to those who have taken upon themselves the name of the Ministry of England”. In this last section he criticises those ministers who abuse the recent victories in England, Scotland and Ireland, as having been won by “a blasphemous Sectarian Army.” Purnell questions their call to the ministry, asking whether book learning or “soul knowledge” is more important, which may in fact be a defence of a man like Thomas Ewins. In doing this he points out the turn-coat nature of the clergy, and refers his readers to Foxe’s *Book of the Martyrs* to make his point.<sup>14</sup>

The final section deals with “Prophesie concerning the glorious state of the Church of Christ that will shortly be.” Quoting Samuel Hartlib’s exposition on Revelation, he arrives at the conclusion “that in the year 1655, which is near at hand of my part I doe expect great alterations and mighty changes, and great desolations to befall the dwellers and inhabitants of the earth, but as for poore Pilgrims and strangers I say to you, look for nothing but the Lord to be revealed from Heaven....”<sup>15</sup>

A brief pamphlet entitled: *Englands Remonstrance: or a word in the ear to the Scattered, Discontented members of the late Parliament* was first published at the end of “Good tydings for sinners” in 1649. This was enlarged and published by Purnell in 1653. The charge in this pamphlet is that the Members of Parliament have done nothing, but feather their own nests. “Besides it appears by your endeavouring to make yourselves a perpetual Parliament, that the next might not question you; It seemeth that you had forgotten that next under God, all Power Furndamentally was in the people, and persons instructed with it as their Trustees; and accordingly it is provided that such Trustees be questioned for

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 20-25, 147, 153-155, 166-168, 178.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 199, 206.

betraying or ill managine their said Trust.”<sup>16</sup>

“2. The next thing is, that you would make inquisition for Wolves prohedied of by Christ and His Apostles ... that you would not do as the late Parliament did, to stope the wolves mouth in one town, and let him go and devour in another if he be judged unfit to bite or devour in one place, let him be held as unfit in another, lest you should do in effect as they did, put out the fire in *Canne* and send it to *Marlborough*, or endeavour to stop the Plague at *Bristol* by sending the infected persons to *London*.”

“3 ... whereas the last power did promise much and perform little, be you more Godlike ... by promising less than you intend to perform. ...”

“4 ... endeavour to unite all the Saints found in the faith to an union in the Spirit of love ... if the Saints were but once united, Anti-Christ would soon be destroyed ...”<sup>17</sup>

In the same year, Purnell published in Bristol *The Way to Heaven Discovered*. At the end of this he re-wrote the “Remonstrance” though it contained substantially the same material. His concern was that while there was considerable dispute about “The garment of religion” in its outward forms, “the power thereof is much abated.” He lists twentyone stumbling blocks in the way of a person becoming a Christian, and answers each of them in turn. He holds the Old and New Testaments to be the word of God. All sinners are as Adam, and the only redeemer from sin is Christ. The Almighty God, the Governor and Creator of the Universe, is Trinity in unity and a unity in Trinity. Jesus is Son of God, born of Mary, and this work is alone efficacious for sinners. No works can avail for man, only grace, and by grace alone can a man be saved. God elects a certain number to eternal life, and no person so elect can fall from regeneration. The worship of God and the use of his ordinances must be undertaken by the saints. The dead shall rise in the last judgement. In conclusion he repeats his conviction: “a true communion of saints according to a Gospel institution is a Communion of Saints arising from a clear apprehension of their union with Saints ... Now when a saint comes to see that everyone in whom the Lord Jesus appeareth, is a member together with him in the same body whereof Christ is Head, then his heart longeth to joyne himself in fellowship with such who have fellowship with the Father and the Son”.<sup>18</sup>

The longest book which we know by Purnell appeared in 1657. Entitled *A Little Cabinet richly stored*, it has 467 pages which contain a full statement of the “true Christian religion” and was in effect a catechism of instruction for the congregation.

It follows the orthodox Calvinistic line, but at the point of

<sup>16</sup> *England's Remonstrance*, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

<sup>18</sup> *The Way to Heaven Discovered*. London (1653); p. 156 *et passim*.

baptism it tacitly supports the baptism of believers only "... so then baptism is an ordinance of the New Testament by the washing of water Eph. 5.26 representing the powerful washing of the blood of Christ 1 Cor. 6.11, Heb. 10.22 and so sealing our regeneration or new birth, and entrance into the covenant of grace, our grafting into Christ, and into the Body of his Church."

He goes on to warn baptised believers: "You that have taken up this ordinance, beware of laying greater stress upon it, then ever God appointed you, viz, it was never appointed to break love and communion, and to quench the Spirit, and to jostle out some other ordinances, nor to shut out the weak in faith ... know you not that all Christians are one in Christ, and partakers of one Spirit, premises, graces, and have right to all privileges? ... will you shut out those that God hath received ... and refuse communion with those that have fellowship with the Father and the Sone, and are faithful to what they know? are all blind that doth not see by your eyes? ..." <sup>19</sup>

The last known work of Purnell was published in London in 1659, entitled: *The Way, step by step, to sound and saving conversion*. It is a helpful and unbiased discussion of the conversion theme, with a heavy reliance upon Baxter's *Treatise of Conversion* and Whatley's *New Birth*. It traces five steps whereby a person is won to Christ, and then commends the "grace begetting and soul converting ordinances" of hearing the Word preached, reading the Bible, frequent prayer, feeding on the promises of grace, and "keeping company with those in grace." Then follows a section on hinderances to Conversion, which bears a marked resemblance to the 21 stumbling blocks mentioned in *The Way to Heaven Discovered*. Finally he deals with the privileges of the converted, the trials of the new convert, and concludes by answering a large number of queries.

This primary source material for the early period corrects the impression which Terrill's narrative gives. Terrill did not sufficiently emphasise the contribution of Purnell between 1646 and 1651. Purnell's basic attitudes were influential on the growth of Broadmead. Purnell deplored the divisiveness of the churches, and urged a wide measure of toleration. It was this kind of thinking which made an impact on Broadmead at this time, and underlay the decision of the church to make "baptism no bar to communion." It is in line with the thinking of Walter Cradock, an early leader of the Bristol congregation, who advocated treating "saints as saints", and urged this as the basis of church fellowship. Ewins, the pastor at this time, also shared these views, which he had accepted earlier from Henry Jessey (1601-1663), and it was for this reason that he and Purnell went to London for baptism in 1654. Robert Purnell was a leading figure in this period, and his writing

<sup>19</sup> R. Purnell, *A Little Cabinet Richly Stored*, London (1657); pp. 255, 261.



and speaking was a decisive factor in bringing the congregation to an open communion Baptist position in 1654.

(b) *Thomas Ewins* (1617-1670)

Thomas Ewins was a member of All Hallows open communion Baptist Church in London. A tailor by trade, he was sent out as a preacher of the Gospel to Wales, along with five others. He settled at Llanvaches, Monmouthshire, in 1648, and continued the work originated by William Wroth and Walter Cradock.<sup>1</sup>

The Llanvaches congregation had moved around considerably during these years. In 1642 the church had migrated with Cradock to the safety of Parliament held Bristol. There they had joined with Broadmead to receive the ministry of Cradock in preaching and at the Lord's Table. When Bristol fell to Prince Rupert in 1643, the whole congregation migrated to London, where, according to Palmer "the paedobaptists communicated with this church at All Hallows the Great, and the Baptists with Mr. Kiffin".<sup>2</sup> There were many strange and new ideas abroad while the group was in London and they became involved in discussions about believers' baptism. When the Llanvaches church returned to Wales in 1646 those who were convinced that believers' baptism was necessary before communion at the Lord's Table, formed themselves into a separate church at Llantrissant, and had William Thomas as their pastor. Those who believed in communicating with "saints as saints" on the open communion principle were led by Cradock and continued at Llanvaches.<sup>3</sup> In 1648, probably in July, Ewins came to take pastoral oversight of the church. The Propagation Act of 1650 mentions him as fit to accredit Puritan ministers in Wales.<sup>4</sup>

It was late in 1651, that Mrs. Nethway, a member of Broadmead and the wife of a Bristol Brewer, Richard Nethway, first went over to Wales to hear Ewins preach. When she returned she impressed upon Broadmead the suitability of Ewins to be their pastor.<sup>5</sup> At first Ewins would not agree to move, and the Llanvaches church was unwilling to part with him. Eventually the Bristol City authorities were involved and wrote to ask for his help in July 1651, having already in March 1650/1 secured a special provision for his coming through an ordinance of the Commons, whereupon Ewins came to Bristol and settled in the city as a lecturer.<sup>6</sup>

He was given the responsibility by the civic authorities of preach-

<sup>1</sup> *The Church of Christ in Bristol Recovering her Vail*. London (1657); p. 63; T. Richards, *A History of the Puritan Movement in Wales (1639-53)*, London (1924) Vol. I, pp. 77, 151.

<sup>2</sup> Palmer, *Nonconformist Memorial* (1802), p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Underhill, p. 538.

<sup>4</sup> Richards, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 151.

<sup>5</sup> Underhill, pp. 38-39.

<sup>6</sup> Richards, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

ing at Christ Church on Sunday mornings and at Maryport in the afternoons; he then repeated his sermons at St. Ewen's and St. Leonard's. On Tuesdays he preached a lecture at St. Nicholas'. Every Thursday he shared in the Broadmead "conference"; and on alternate Fridays he would preach at St. Philip's and St. Michael's almshouses. He also made regular visits to Bedminster and other places near and around Bristol.<sup>7</sup> Ewins did not wish to be regarded as a minister, and always referred to himself as "a Preacher of the Gospel in Wales and Bristol". When he came to Bristol, he told the authorities that he came not "as a Parish Minister to take any Parochial Charge upon me, but rather as a Publick Preacher of the Gospel in this City." He always distinguished between "a person sent to preach the Gospel to the World" and one "called, set apart, and ordained to office in the Church." He had not been at that time ordained, and he was not ordained to the ministry at Broadmead until 24th June 1662, by which time he had been turned out of his city lectureship by refusing to subscribe in 1660. However, he was very careful to argue the authentic nature of his position as a "Preacher of the Gospel in Wales and Bristol". He had been recommended to this work by a "church of judicious saints in London"; his work in Wales had been blessed by God; and now he was called to this type of ministry by the City authorities.<sup>8</sup>

He had not been long in Bristol when he was falsely accused in some scandal. He decided to be silent on the issue, only to discover that many thought he was therefore guilty. To refute them he had to go and "seek a publick vindication by the Magistrates, which I had." It was this experience which led him to write at length a reply to Dennis Hollister.<sup>9</sup>

For some years past Broadmead had been in a disturbed state, particularly about the place of ordinances in the life of the church. Some argued that ordinances were irrelevant; others, including Hollister, urged that all ordinances should be discontinued while the church was in "a wilderness state."<sup>10</sup> In 1652 Thomas Munday left Broadmead and joined the Pithay, "the other church in Bristol that were all Baptized."<sup>11</sup> When Timothy Cattle made a similar request in 1653, the church decided that baptism should not become a bar to fellowship at the Lord's supper. He was commended for baptism to Henry Jessey, at All Hallows, London. Cattle was baptized by Jessey when he went there on business.<sup>12</sup>

In 1653, Dennis Hollister was elected Member of Parliament for Bristol, and went up to London. It was here that his extreme views

<sup>7</sup> *Records*, p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> *The Church of Christ in Bristol*, pp. 41-43.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14; *Records*, p. 98.

<sup>11</sup> *Records*, p. 105.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

about the unnecessary nature of ordinances of the church were given form and content by the Quakers in London. When he returned to Bristol later that year, he wrought havoc by expressing these views in Broadmead and eventually a quarter of the members left for the Quaker meeting.<sup>13</sup> The matter was not helped by the firm conviction of Terrill, and others, that the preaching of the Quakers who visited the city, John Audland, Thomas Airey and John Camm, was nothing but the work of Jesuits in disguise.<sup>14</sup>

This dispute between Hollister and Broadmead was published to the world in 1656 and 1657. It caused Broadmead to ask themselves why such a visitation had come to them. Ewins and Purnell were convinced it was because they had neglected the ordinance of believers' baptism, and they went to receive baptism from Jessey.<sup>15</sup> Others also were baptised later and in succeeding years but Broadmead remained an open communion church, recognising "saints as saints" at the Lord's Table with paedobaptism no bar to communion.

In his published attack on Broadmead, Hollister makes a great deal of the mixed-communion practice. In his reply Ewins sets out clearly his own reasons for baptism, and for retaining a mixed membership.

He stated he was baptised in London because he was "a member of a church there, who are of the same judgment."<sup>16</sup> He went to them also because he knew no other church in London that "had that latitude in their Principles, as to baptise me unless I should come off from this church in point of communion, which in my conscience I could not do ..."<sup>17</sup> Hollister had suggested that he went to London so that it could be a secret, and he would keep his living with the city authorities. Ewins denied this and stated that he publicly avowed his baptism on his return, and that when Henry Jessey came to Bristol afterwards it was "not to perform any Bishop-like confirmation, as this man seems to intimate, but rather to endeavour the settling and establishing the minds of the People of this Citie against the pernicious Doctrine of the Quakers; and I believe his endeavours were not successless in that thing ..."<sup>18</sup> This visit is not mentioned by Terrill, another illustration of his limited knowledge about the early history at Broadmead.

On the open communion issue, Ewins wrote: "there are many churches and many men both learned and godly that are of my judgment in this particular, so as to hold communion with persons differing in that point. And so I administer the Lord's Supper to this people in Bristol, as they are a church of godly sober Christians,

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 106-109.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>16</sup> *The Church of Christ in Bristol*, p. 57.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

believing in Christ, though some of them misbaptised, yet none of them deny the ordinances of Christ, onely some of them have not light to see the right Administration of it but reckon their Infant Baptism sufficient; yet as farther light comes in, they are willing to walk up to it, in the mean time we can bear with them in love, as we desire them and others to bear with us in other things."<sup>19</sup>

Ewin's position on baptism was clear and he claimed to be "an open Professed Dipper ... I do own the word and practice ... I baptize men and women as Philip did ..."<sup>20</sup>

Ewins was also attacked by the Quakers for his treatment of those they called "servants of Jesus", who "testified" in the Broadmead meeting. One of these Sarah Latchett, greatly troubled the congregation. At the end of one service she railed loud and long about Ewins ministry, and was eventually shown the door. A few days later she disturbed the Church while it was celebrating the Lord's Supper, and had to be led out. She then appeared a third time, and Ewins remarked that "It were fitter such an idle Huswife were whipt, and sent to Bridewell to worke, then to go about rayling at people as she did."<sup>21</sup> A few days later Sarah Latchett was in prison, and Hollister took the opportunity to blame Ewins. On another occasion a certain Mrs. Prince disturbed him, while he was giving his lecture at St. Nicholas'. In fact Ewins recalls that he was disturbed 16 or 17 times by the Quakers in a matter of weeks.<sup>22</sup>

Hollister also accused the congregation of "beating up" Quakers.<sup>23</sup> To this the church replied: "You know it hath been the practice of the Women of this congregation for some years past ... every second day of the week, towards evening to seek the Lord by supplication and prayer themselves; at which Satan hath much raged and some of your way have come several times to disturb them, and in particular upon the day you mention, there came two women, one of which had been an old Ranter, but now fallen into your way, the other a late member of this church, but now turned to your opinion ..."<sup>24</sup> These two hummed loudly, and then went up to the woman leading in prayer and shouted in her ear "The prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord." The women then tried to throw them out, but were not successful, and eventually the two women left when the lady who owned the house ordered them off her premises.

Broadmead sent a letter to each of those who left to join the Quakers, about a month after they had left and received a variety

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47 f.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>23</sup> D. Hollister, *The Skirts of the Whore Discovered and the mingled people within her*, London (1656), p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> *The Church of Christ in Bristol*, p. 21 ff.

of unhelpful replies. The congregation then sent an admonition detailing specific charges by three messengers, Robert Simpson, Robert Purnell, and Richard Moone. Hollister prepared a written reply, and read it to them, and asked if they would promise to read the letter in an open meeting, which they agreed to do if the church consented. Three reasons were given at the meeting why it should not be read. "First because it was not directed to the Church, but as it were in a deriding manner, viz To the Pepole called Independent, though now you join Baptized with them: therefore if you do not own us a church we might justly refuse to own or receive your letter. Secondly you were a person under admonishing, and had refused to hear the church messengers, therefore we had no warrant to read or to hear your letter. Thirdly some of us understood that your main design was to draw more away to you."<sup>25</sup> On these grounds the letter was returned to Hollister, and given to his servant, because he was absent at the time. Hollister claims that he did not know of this for some time after. The messengers were sent again by the church to admonish Hollister. When he began a reply to them, they refused to listen because he "boyled over" at them.<sup>26</sup> Robert Simpson, one of the older members of the fellowship, was charged by Hollister with lying deliberately.<sup>27</sup> This charge was refuted by the church and by a letter of vindication from Simpson himself.

At a "conference" of the church Hollister, before some twenty or so people in the Garden House at Red-Lodge, had declared that the Scriptures were "a blinding to souls; and secondly one of the greatest plagues of the land."<sup>28</sup> The church charged him with five points in all. First, by leaving the church he caused others to leave, encouraging them to do so with evil gossip about the church. Second, he neglected the ordinances commanded by Christ. In reply to this Hollister wrote: "A member of an Anabaptist Assembly I never was, but did beare witness against it as ye know; and the people with whom I walked was once neer upon casting out one for entertaining that opinion of water-baptism; And when did you baptize (as you call it) your children? ... And whereas you charge me with neglect of breaking bread, I answer, Have not you yourselves neglected it; have you medled in any such things for some yeares past ...?"<sup>29</sup> In reply the church claimed that he termed baptism "that ugly thing" and refused it to his children and to believers alike.<sup>30</sup> Regarding the Lord's Supper they claim he spoke "falsely again, for the Church never neglected the ordinance of the Lord's Supper any years; it is true that through your means and

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 28-40.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 17. Hollister, op. cit., pp. 4, 9. *Records*, pp. 112-114.

<sup>29</sup> Hollister, op. cit., p. 11 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *The Church of Christ in Bristol*, p. 4.

some others the church did forbear the practice of it about a year together, but it is one thing for a church upon occasion to forbear an ordinance, and another thing to totally neglect it, or deny it as you do . . ."<sup>31</sup> The third point was his calling the church a "harlot"; to which Hollister replied that "the Spirit that moved in your Assembly not only on that day that proved my parting day, when Eliz. Marshall was sent of the Lord among you for your good . . . testified who dwells there . . ."<sup>32</sup> Fourth, he denied certain fundamental doctrines, especially in saying that faith was an eternal thing, that Christ and faith were one, and that Christ Jesus was not the object of faith. The final charge, already noted, dealt with his view of the Scriptures.

In his charges, Hollister claimed that Ewins was a "minister of the Letter, but not of the Spirit".<sup>33</sup> Ewins recalled a discussion which he heard in London, about the work of the Spirit, and claimed the work of the Spirit was two-fold. First there was a spirit of regeneration which began the converting work of God in the soul. This was followed by the Spirit sanctifying a person wholly. He also differentiated between the Spirit in the Old Testament, which he likened to the Spirit of this world, or the spirit which is in man, and the New Testament Spirit which has the power to regenerate and sanctify man. He stated that he once used these distinctions, but because of misunderstanding, did not use them any more.<sup>34</sup>

The Hollister affair was very prominent in the early ministry of Ewins but significantly Terrill chose to ignore it. Perhaps by 1672 he was no longer in sympathy with the statement made by the six elders who signed the *Reader's Introduction* of the Bristol edition, when they wrote to Hollister: "You know in your own conscience, that it was and is the principle of this church to own and receive any that are truly godly, though differing in some things."<sup>35</sup>

However, though Hollister and the Quakers continued to make trouble for Ewins and his congregation, the city authorities valued his services and the "Council of State in March 1657 issued an order for the payment of £40 per annum to Thomas Ewins, minister of a Church in Bristol, with permission for him and his congregation to freely use 'Leonard's church' for religious services."<sup>36</sup>

In 1660 when the oaths of allegiance were required, Ewins was withdrawn as the preacher at St. Nicholas' and Christchurch, and the congregation met for some time in his house at the Castle.<sup>37</sup> Palmer claims that at the Restoration the Bishop of Bristol "courted him to conformity, but he could by no means be satisfied to

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Hollister, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>34</sup> *The Church of Christ in Bristol*, p. 51 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>36</sup> *Latimer*, pp. 274-275.

<sup>37</sup> *Records*, p. 115.

comply.”<sup>38</sup> The Pithay and Broadmead congregations met to discuss their attitude to the Oath, and drew up a joint statement which they sent to the Mayor, Sir Henry Creswick, saying that if certain words were changed they would happily subscribe, but this was refused by the London authorities.<sup>39</sup>

In January 1660/1, immediately after Venner’s arrest, Ewins was forbidden to preach in his own house, but the church which was meeting in the old Franciscan Friars Hall in Broadmead continued to meet there until June 1661. When Ewins refused to stop preaching, he was arrested in July 1662, and imprisoned for a couple of months.<sup>40</sup>

The Restoration meant that the church could no longer enjoy the official status it had when Ewins was the city lecturer and so it began to organise its own separate life in June 1662. Robert Purnell and Thomas Ellis were elected ruling elders in the congregation and elderly Mr. Spurgion and Robert Simpson were elected deacons. Widow West was elected a deaconess.

Until now Ewins had not been ordained as pastor of the Church, no doubt in compliance with his declared understanding of himself as a “Preacher of the Gospel” and not as a minister. Now the situation was changed, and the church deemed it necessary to have an ordination, which took place at Robert Purnell’s house on James’s Back in June 1662.<sup>41</sup>

From October 26th to November 13th Ewins was imprisoned at the Marshall’s house in Wine Street. Preaching by various men in the church continued at the Friars, until Sir John Knight, the Elder, became Mayor in October 1663. One of his first actions was to forbid Ewins to preach. When Ewins refused he was put in Newgate along with Thomas Patient, the Assistant Minister at the Pithay. He remained there the whole of Knight’s Mayoralty, refusing to pay the £50 fine. He was released in September 1664, having preached from the prison twice a week to anyone who would come and listen, though it greatly taxed his strength.<sup>42</sup>

During 1664, persecution by the authorities made it impossible to meet in the Friars, and it was decided to meet in various houses instead. The home of Thomas Ellis was much used in this respect. The venue in Corn Street was eventually discovered, and other places had to be used. Several members of the congregation were imprisoned under the Conventicle Act regulations, and stood in danger of transportation for seven years.

In the midst of such trials, Ewins called upon the congregation to set apart a day of fasting and prayer, not only for themselves, but for the whole nation. The death of deacon Spurgion in 1665

<sup>38</sup> Palmer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 175-176.

<sup>39</sup> *Records*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 116-118.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

resulted in William Dickason and Thomas Rieves being appointed in his place. The Plague of 1666 brought a respite from persecution, and twenty-four members were added in that year. In 1666 the death of Robert Purnell led to Richard White and Edward Terrill being elected as elders in the Church. A special service was held in 1667, when these two were set apart by the Church as elders, and then William Thomas, the pastor of the baptised congregation at Llantrissant, baptised 10 men and 4 women in the river at Baptist Mills. One of those baptised was Thomas Jennings, an ejected minister from Brimsfield in Gloucestershire. Jennings became the teacher, and administrator of baptism in the congregation because of Ewins' failing health. In June and July 1667 Ewins was again in prison in Bristol.<sup>43</sup>

From 1667 to 1670 the church met in Whitson Court in the upstairs section of the sugar refining house belonging to Thomas Ellis. Ewins died on April 29th, 1670, and was buried in James's yard, "accompanied with many hundred to the grave, the like funeral not seen long before in Bristol."<sup>44</sup> Ewins' wife, Joan, died in 1676 aged about 70.<sup>45</sup> They had only one surviving child called John, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of Major Clarke.<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth joined the church on 2nd September 1679, some years after John, whose name stands in the list of those who invited Thomas Hardcastle to the Pastorate in 1671.<sup>47</sup> The name John Ewins stands in the list of those admitted to the Merchant Venturers Society in 1677, though this may have been his uncle.<sup>48</sup> The Broadmead Burial Register, for the cemetery in Red-Cross Lane, records the interment of John Ewins on December 26th 1681.<sup>49</sup> His wife Elizabeth soon re-married, the *Records* noting her marriage to Robert Bodenham in 1682. She died and was buried in the Red-Cross Yard on June 20th 1685.<sup>50</sup> Thomas Ewins' will mentions considerable property in Bristol and Hurst, Berks, which he left to various people, among whom were his "only son John", his brother John, and his sister Elizabeth Symons.<sup>51</sup>

(c) *Thomas Hardcastle* (1636-1678)

Thomas Hardcastle was born in Barwick-in-Elmet, the son of John Hardcastle, yeoman, and baptised on 24 February 1636. He was educated in his early years by Christopher Jackson, the minister

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 123.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 127.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209. (See also will of T. Ewins in *BBL*.)

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 209, 212.

<sup>48</sup> *BRS*, Vol. XVII, p. 32.

<sup>49</sup> *BBR*, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> *Records*, p. 246; *BBR*, p. 9.

<sup>51</sup> Will of T. Ewins in *BBL*.



there, a man of puritan sympathies who in 1662 was ejected from Crosby, Westmorland.

After schooling at Sherborne, Hardcastle went to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he matriculated in 1652. Four years later he took his B.A. After finishing his college course he returned to Yorkshire and became vicar of Bramham, which is about 6 miles north-east of Barwick, near Leeds.<sup>1</sup> Daniel Neal describes him at this time as a "man of pregnant parts, eminent learning and piety, of great moderation and catholicism, though of a bold spirit which feared nothing."<sup>2</sup>

Quoting from one of his published works, Palmer records Hardcastle's indebtedness to: "The Lady Barwick, of Toulsten in Yorkshire, to whom I had the happiness to be chaplain for several years, and must own myself to be much obliged; and no less to the right honourable the Lord Henry Fairfax, her son-in-law, and my constant and my faithful friend in my sufferings for Christ."<sup>3</sup>

There was a "chapel of ease" at Shadwell, about three miles from Barwick where, at the request of the residents, Hardcastle often preached but he was arrested for this in August 1665. Arrested a second time in January 1665/6, he was imprisoned first at York, and then sent to Chester Castle, for breaking his parole. Having been over a year in Chester he petitioned for and secured his release on a security of £1,000. The money was provided by friends in York and he was given a parole on 20th December 1667.<sup>4</sup> He soon broke the parole, and was arrested for preaching at Leeds on January 21st 1667/8. He was sent to Wakefield prison, and it was here that Oliver Heywood visited him. While Hardcastle was in prison Oliver Heywood often preached for him at Shadwell. Hardcastle himself was taken for preaching again in Leeds on 28th May 1668.<sup>5</sup> Hardcastle is mentioned twice in the Archbishop of York's list:

"Barwick-in-Elmet; at the house of Sir Thomas Gascoyne Barre, Romanists; nigh 20 families in the town besides strangers. Another conventicle at the house of Hardcastle: Head and teacher, one Hardcastle, Brother to him in whose house Assembly is."

Then his name occurs in connection with "Thorner: At the chappell of Shadwell; Mr. Hardcastle, Mr. Nesse."<sup>6</sup> The brother referred to here may well be William Hardcastle, who wrote to Edward Terrill on behalf of Mrs. Anne Hardcastle, thanking him for making provision for his sister-in-law upon the death of her husband, in December 1679.<sup>7</sup>

It was during his period at Chester that Hardcastle met his future

<sup>1</sup> CR; TBHS, Vol. IV, pp. 33-35.

<sup>2</sup> D. Neale, *History of the Puritans*, London (1822), Vol. V, pp. 198-199.

<sup>3</sup> Palmer, op. cit., Vol. III, Addenda, pp. 526-7.

<sup>4</sup> CSPD, 1666, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> S. Hunter, *Rise of the Old Dissent*, London (1842), pp. 206, 207, 209.

<sup>6</sup> TBHS, Vol. IV, p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> BBL, Dec. 1679.

wife, though just when they married is not clear. She was Ann Gerrard, the daughter of Colonel Gerrard, the Governor of Chester Castle, and the sister of Katharine Gerrard, who was married to Vavasor Powell.<sup>8</sup> Some time during 1669/70 Hardcastle moved to London, where he was baptised and became a member of the church worshipping in Swan Alley.

Hardcastle's settlement at Bristol was overshadowed by a continuing dispute with the Swan Alley Church about their rights to him as a pastor. The account given by Terrill in the *Records*, written about 1676, five years after the episode, is substantially correct, but Underhill has transcripts of the correspondence between Terrill and Vavasor Powell, Terrill and Hardcastle, and between the two congregations involved, which substantially increases our knowledge of the matter.<sup>9</sup>

When the church wanted a new pastor, Terrill wrote to Vavasor Powell concerning Hardcastle, Powell's brother-in-law. He replied on June 6th 1670 "Mr. Hardcastle that you name is at present in prison, otherwise he is not perfectly fixed with the Church brother Jessey formerly belonged to, though joined to them as a member, and upon trial to be their pastor."<sup>10</sup> So it was that 12 of the brethren wrote to Hardcastle, believing it was in God's providence "that you are not fixed nor settled over any other people. Therefore dear Sir, we earnestly entreat you, as soon as the prison doors shall be opened to you, that you will come to us upon trial, to supply the room of our deceased pastor. We shall provide a house for you against you come, and shall endeavour a comfortable subsistence likewise, hoping to your content".<sup>11</sup>

Hardcastle replied that Swan Alley "seem to be altogether unwilling to hearken to it, or to part with their interest in me ... They look upon me as so far engaged to them, which is really so, that without mutual consent there can be no parting."<sup>12</sup>

In a further letter from Powell, written some five days later, it is noted that a second letter from Terrill had been opened by "one of Mr. Smith's family, that is a member of the church that brother Hardcastle belongs to; and it seems it was showed to the church or at least the contents thereof communicated to them; which gave occasion to them to debate it, and it seems to determine against his coming, and to censure me for endeavouring or intermeddling anything therein."<sup>13</sup> As a result of this Powell advised them to withdraw from the situation.

<sup>8</sup> *TBHS*, Vol. IV, pp. 33-35.

<sup>9</sup> *Underhill*, pp. 172-176, see also, pp. 102-104, 108, 109, 110, 110-115, 115-117, 117-120, 120-121, 122, 124, 125, 137-138, 139-140, 141-143, 143-145, 147-148, 149, 150, 152-153, 153-155, 156-157, 198-199, 200-203, 203-205.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

The London church wrote that they believed God had given them hope that "He will, by our beloved brother Hardcastle, make up some of our breaches, and would you now deprive us of such an answer of prayer, after so long waiting? ... We therefore, cannot think you would desire to repair your breaches by making one so great upon your sister church ... in the supply of your wants make not too much haste. Lay hands suddenly on no man."<sup>14</sup>

Hardcastle was put under extreme pressure by Terrill, who wrote at least six letters imploring Hardcastle to accept. Hardcastle had hoped the letter from the Swan Alley congregation would have put an end to the discussions, but it did not. He continues: "As for coming down to spend three or four Lord's days with you, by way of a visit, without further engagement, I would readily close with it, if you can prevail with our church to do it as their act, upon your request to them."<sup>15</sup>

However, the Swan Alley people realised the inherent danger of letting Hardcastle visit Bristol, and Hardcastle wrote to Terrill: "Our congregation stood on their right, and therefore the business of usefulness came not under debate, which I much desired. They left the business as they found it ... when I saw that nothing was done, I desired it might be moved that I be sent down by the brethren, the congregation consenting, to Bristol for a month, to visit you to understand your state, and what there might seem to be in your long and loud call—what opportunity of service, and what expedient might be found out to promote that blessed principle of union among the saints, as saints, though of different persuasions; to understand where the hinge lay in that passage of infant baptism, &c." The meeting decided against this proposal believing it would leave Broadmead "under greater disappointment", and "that it might be a temptation to me."<sup>16</sup>

The matter of admitting the unbaptised to communion was a cause of division in the London church which was now moving towards a Particular Baptist position. Hardcastle was for open communion and wrote "let the brethren that are for infant baptism clearly see by your carriage that you prefer mutual love before the imposing your persuasion; by this means both affection and truth will be promoted most effectually ... I have always found it true that union in hearts had more considerable effect than union in heads."<sup>17</sup>

A further letter from Terrill to the congregation at Swan Alley proved effective in providing Hardcastle with "the liberty to visit you, which was granted as being rational."<sup>18</sup> The reply from the Swan Alley church was terse and to the point. "If you judge that brother Hardcastle, not being called to office amongst us, is as free for another church to elect as for us, we hope you will excuse us if we humbly conceive the contrary ... Nor do we find that any

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

prudential judges are of your mind, unless it had been supposed we had given up our right, which we did not." Having made the position quite clear, that Hardcastle is not available for Broadmead, they added a "P.S. Notwithstanding you have our sense, yet we are willing our brother Hardcastle should visit you, and know your state, and acquaint you with ours, that we may maintain brotherly love, and a right understanding between us."<sup>19</sup>

Hardcastle visited Bristol during May 1671 and just before he returned to London the Broadmead congregation gave him a call to the pastorate. He was overwhelmed by the experience, and returned to London, to try and get the settlement agreed amicably. He wrote to Terrill on June 6th 1671 "I have not yet had an opportunity to acquaint the congregation with the concern and I dare scarce tell you what some of my friends say of your call ... If the Lord open a door for me to come to Bristol, I hope the Lord will make us happy in one another ... my desire is to hearken to the call of God, and to be employed by him where I may be most useful ... I hoped for a letter from you ere this, both to me and the congregation, for the business will need managing here, wherein you have been defective all along."<sup>20</sup>

Hardcastle was correct in his judgment. The London church was not willing to let him go, and replied so to Broadmead. They questioned the wisdom of letting "a man be set over them that is not baptised" since they "shall be guilty of a partial, if not a total backsliding." Second, they refuted the idea that the call of Ewins from a London congregation had set a precedent, asking for a "scriptural rule" to support the action. Third, Broadmead mentioned the fact that others will be eager to hear the Gospel when such a man as Hardcastle is sent for as pastor and that they can provide "comfortable maintenance" for him. To which Swan Alley replied "We have not olive yards and vineyards to entice them, and if we had, we should be very fearful to receive such men ... though we think that they that serve the altar should live of the altar."

The fourth point, the need of Broadmead, is met by the fact "there is much more need here than with you, if out of selfishness we mistake not." Fifth, "You say you are informed that it was your pastor's desire Mr. Hardcastle should succeed him. We suppose, had he known what you do, he would not have desired it of one otherwise engaged." Finally, they disputed that the call from Broadmead was in the interest of Christ, and desired to submit "that question to judicious persons to judge of".<sup>21</sup>

A week later, 15th June 1671, Hardcastle wrote to Terrill telling him "how little inclination I found in myself to come to Bristol, till I saw you and understood your call ... There want not endeavours to dissuade from Bristol, and all that can be invented

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 139-140.

to alienate me; but these things do not much move me ... Our good women are at prayer hard together this week to keep me here, our men deeply consulting what to do ... They seem resolved not to give me a dismission ... I shall be troubled to leave them without leave. I could have wished that expression had been out of your letter, of taking me by force: that will not down with them ... I think it advisable for you ... to write to the seven ministers who you writ to before: for I believe that some of them will be called in on Tuesday to our people's advice, wherein may state your case, &c."<sup>22</sup>

However, this letter did not arrive in Bristol before Terrill sent off a further letter to Hardcastle. Hardcastle replied on 22nd June 1671. Apparently the Swan Alley church did not meet on the Tuesday but put off the meeting for two weeks "to fortify themselves against the assault which you have made". Some said to Hardcastle that Terrill "has lorded it over our church, and taken them at an advantage ... they endeavour to lay you under sin; but I must needs say, that though some things might have admitted of correction, yet taking in your necessity and opportunity, I do not see how wise and indifferent persons can lay you under much blame." Hardcastle was now convinced that his future lay with Broadmead: "So far as I can see at present, my call is to Bristol ... I intend to desire my dismission shortly, and if I cannot have it, I must take it ... I must keep my own counsel till I can bring my business to a ripeness. I hope by God's blessing, to be with you in less than a month: but let not this be made much public."<sup>23</sup>

The Swan Alley church was not without resource in the matter, and on June 26th called Hardcastle to be their pastor, to which he was to reply by July 3rd. "My resolution is fixed" he wrote to Terrill, "you know what it is but pray for me, for it will be the most difficult thing to get off that ever I met with ... Our people lay you under sin, that when they in kindness send a messenger to visit you, you in injustice take him from them".

Terrill had meanwhile been writing to various London ministers among them Dr. John Owen, John Collins, and John Loder, all of whom favoured Hardcastle going to Bristol. Hardcastle, however, was very keen to stay a month longer in London to get his dismission if possible before settling in Bristol.<sup>24</sup>

At the July 3rd meeting, Kiffin and Edward Harrison, of Petty France, spoke for Broadmead "though they could not justify your call as regular in all things". Others thought the whole move was "absolutely sinful". Hardcastle told the church that he would sin if he refused the call, which "did startle them all ... I told them it was not want of affection, but sense of duty that drew me away".<sup>25</sup>

The matter was still being keenly debated when Hardcastle wrote

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 147-148.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

to Terrill on 11th July. "I saw Dr. Owen yesterday, who is absolute in approving my way, and would not have me stand on a dismission, for all the elders will clear me in this case, and will justify your call".<sup>26</sup>

The Swan Alley church wrote to Broadmead on 18th July 1671, deprecating that they had felt "constrained to take him by force". They asked Broadmead "to produce rule for what you have done, or give testimony of your unfeigned repentance for what you have done, and not think we should justify your action because it is done, by giving our brother a dismission to an irregular call of yours ... And we pray be not so bold as to say, what you did 'God did'. No: do not make the voice of the people that were ignorant of things, some of which you know, to be the voice of God."<sup>27</sup>

Hardcastle wrote that he was coming to Bristol on 28th July 1671, and added: "I hear of a letter which came to you from a part of our congregation, but I never saw it, nor do I know what is in it; but I suppose there will be no great occasion for a speedy answer before I come."<sup>28</sup>

Terrill endorsed the letter: "The church in London's letter. Not answered. Those walking with Mr. Abbott."<sup>29</sup>

The matter did not rest there, and the dispute dragged on through the ministry of Hardcastle. On 29th March 1674, Broadmead replied to a letter sent by the London congregation asking why there had been no reply to the letters they sent just prior to Hardcastle settling. Broadmead replied that they had consulted with Edward Harrison, of the Petty France Church, and following Hardcastle's refusal of Swan Alley, they gathered the church again, and gave Mr. Hardcastle a second call, which he accepted, "thus retracting our former act." They hoped this would put right their irregular act, and re-establish a happy relationship with "our beloved sister church, with whom we have had occasion of correspondence for many years past, and also from which we received help time after time for which next after the Lord we return you thanks for the Lord hath made you instrumental for our good, by your late pastor, that worthy and holy man, brother Jessey ... And therefore, we pray you beloved, to pass by and forgive what you esteem was amiss in our acting, in that our day of necessity. And also, we entreat you to grant a dismission of our brother Hardcastle ... that there may be a continuance of that former kindness ..."<sup>30</sup>

The London church replied within the month that they could hardly be expected to know what the situation was, as Broadmead had not replied to their letter, and just to put right an irregularity did not "take off the sin" of the first wrong action. They felt that Broadmead had "been irregular in this whole affair, both in your

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 155, n. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 199.

first and second call of our brother amongst you, and that you can give no regular call to him, till you have our assent so to do." They charged Broadmead with being insincere in giving Hardcastle a second call, knowing as they did the views of Swan Alley, and also in thanking them for sparing Hardcastle when they knew that the opposite was true; "Shall our utmost endeavours to hinder, redound to our account as sparing him to you?" Swan Alley concluded: "We cannot dismiss our brother to you, nor approve his present being with you until such time as we have satisfaction from you for the irregularity we have charged against you, or you convince us of our mistake. For we judge your proceedings so disorderly, that we dare have no fellowship therewith, and that the precedent thereby, given, may be of such bad consequence, if followed, as would bring all the churches into confusion, that none should know when they have a member or a minister."<sup>31</sup>

A fortnight later, Broadmead replied, "Is there no balm in Gilead? ... for we perceive you have been dissecting our line to you ... The thing that made all our former acting to be evil, of which brother Harrison, of Petty France, late deceased, gave us light in, was this: That we had called Mr. Hardcastle to be our pastor, he being set apart by you upon trial, before he had given you his denial of acceptance of that place among you. Therefore dear brother Harrison gave us advice to let fall our first call as irregular, and to give him another call, after he had signified his non-acceptance of the office among you." They concluded, "for peace sake ... forgive us ... and grant a dismission of our dearly beloved brother Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, whom God hath so eminently blessed and owned since he came hither and sat down with us."

There the matter rested until November 1676, when Broadmead heard that Kiffin, Deane, Fitten, Cox and Moreton were coming from London to settle a dispute in Wiltshire. They sent a deputation over to ask them to come and ordain Hardcastle as their Pastor; but the group pleaded concerns in London which could not wait, and the ordination was deferred.<sup>32</sup> On September 2nd 1677, Cox and Dyke were both in Bristol for the ordination of Andrew Gifford, but they were not invited to ordain Hardcastle.<sup>33</sup> On the 6th May 1678, three of the members from Jessey's church came down to claim their right to Hardcastle.<sup>34</sup> Swan Alley had in the interval been served by Mr. Fitten, but he was now dead. The six points discussed have been recorded on a document still extant at Broadmead, but there were no new factors introduced into the arguments. There the matter was concluded, because before the end of the year Hardcastle had died.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>32</sup> *Records*, p. 185.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>35</sup> *BBL*, under date 1678. Hardcastle was buried in St. James Yard, Bristol, 30 Sept., 1678.

The ministry of Thomas Hardcastle was marked by prosperity and adversity. In the early years the 1672 Indulgence was made, and he was licensed to preach regularly in Bristol and at Bitton in Gloucestershire. It was in 1672 that he began a series on the Westminster Shorter Catechism and Colossians. These were detailed expositions and must have laid a good foundation for the years of oppression, harrying and frequent imprisonment which were to follow.<sup>36</sup>

When the 1672 Indulgence was repealed Hardcastle was arrested and imprisoned, which was not a new experience for him. He was in Newgate most of the time but was allowed home on parole at least once. From August 1675 to February 1676 there issued a remarkable series of twenty-two letters from his prison cell. They contain some of the most discerning words about the meaning of "true faith" written in the seventeenth century. This contribution is dealt with at length in the chapter on Broadmead persecutions.<sup>37</sup>

(d) *Thomas Jennings* (fl. 1660-1695)

From 1666 onwards Thomas Jennings was closely associated with Broadmead with a special responsibility for administering baptism. Before coming to Bristol he was vicar of Matson, Gloucestershire, when he signed, in 1648, *The Gloucestershire Ministers testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ and to the Solemn League and Covenant*.<sup>1</sup> He was appointed Rector of St. John's, Gloucester, and was there in March 1659. By December of that year he was curate at Upton St. Leonards. When he came to Bristol it was noted he had been sent out from Mr. Forbes' church in Gloucester, as a preacher, in 1658/9.<sup>2</sup>

Jennings was baptised in the Avon at Baptist Mills, on 6th March 1666/7 by William Thomas, the minister of Llantrissant, Monmouthshire. Because of Ewins' failing health, Jennings was appointed the Broadmead "administrator" of baptism. But although he often preached to the congregation he was not allowed to administer communion because he was not their settled pastor. Equally they did not automatically allow those gifted to preach to baptize unless, like Saul and Barnabas, they were set aside for

<sup>36</sup> A MSS transcript of these *Expositions*, as they were termed, plus some others on Ecc. 12.5; and Colossians, Ch. 1, was compiled by Terrill between October 1671 and 1672, and can be found in the Baptist College Library, Bristol.

<sup>37</sup> *Underhill*, pp. 257-354, carries the full text of these letters. See also chapter III of this introduction.

<sup>1</sup> In Bristol Baptist College Library.

<sup>2</sup> *CR*, p. 297; J. Stanley, *In Days of Old*, Hereford, 1912, p. 65 f; *Records*, pp. 207-218.



missionary work.<sup>3</sup> In 1669 Jennings was reported to Archbishop Sheldon for preaching at Limehouse, London, in the house of a butcher named Launder. In 1671 he and his wife, Mary, were among the signatories of the invitation to Thomas Hardcastle.<sup>4</sup> In September 1672 Jennings was preaching quite regularly at Woolland, where he was licensed as a Presbyterian, and in that year three of his members joined Broadmead.<sup>5</sup> In 1675 he had the privilege of baptising his wife in the River Froome. She is described as "an old Professor, that long had walked with the church, reputed an Independent, and formerly a Puritan."<sup>6</sup> In 1676 Jennings was one of the party who approached the London Ministers in Wiltshire about the proposed ordination of Thomas Hardcastle.<sup>7</sup> In 1679 Thomas and Mary Jennings were signatories to the invitation to George Fownes. Jennings preached and baptised regularly at Broadmead and in January 1681/2 was sent to Newgate for holding an unlawful assembly, but was released the next day.<sup>8</sup> It is possible that Jennings was by trade, in these later years, an armiger, that is, a designer of heraldic shields, but in Terrill's will of 1679, Jennings is described as a "cordwainer of Barton Regis."<sup>9</sup>

Mary Jennings died on 13th August 1680 and was buried at St. Philips, Bristol. Thomas married again in 1682, removed to Chipping Sodbury, and in doing so avoided distraint upon his property which was granted by a warrant issued at the Gloucester Petty Sessions. Even so he returned on occasions to preach and baptise.<sup>10</sup> On January 11th 1682/3 Jennings was seconded to the Church at Chipping Sodbury and on 22nd May 1687 he was dismissed from Broadmead to be the minister there. Thomas Jennings is one of the many delightful yet shadowy figures in the *Records* about whom too little is known.<sup>11</sup>

#### (e) *George Fownes* (d. 1685)

George Fownes became pastor at Broadmead on September 16th 1679. He was born in Shropshire, and received a classical education at Shrewsbury School. When he went to Cambridge, he entered Emmanuel College, matriculating in 1651. He took his B.A. in

<sup>3</sup> Jennings baptises: *Records*, pp. 142, 207, 212, 225, 230, 245. Jennings preaches, *Records*, pp. 173, 175, 180, 234-237, 239, 240, cf. also pp. 125, 219,

<sup>4</sup> *Records*, pp. 131-132; Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Records*, p. 139.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237.

<sup>9</sup> See *MBL*, p. 94 where a "Thomas Jennings, of St. Augustine's, Armiger", is a bondsman in 1676.

<sup>10</sup> *Records*, pp. 223, 242, 245.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 266, 267.

1655 and became a Master in 1659. During this period at Cambridge he may well have met his predecessor at Broadmead, Thomas Hardcastle, who matriculated at St. John's College in 1652.

Leaving university he was appointed vicar of High Wycombe, Bucks, on the 18th March 1656/7. Within a year or two he had adopted Baptist views and resigned his living just before the Restoration in 1660, his successor being instituted on November 15th that year.<sup>1</sup> Daniel Neal described him as "an able preacher, a man of great learning, and conversant in law, physic, and other branches of science."<sup>2</sup> He eventually settled down with the Church at Pinners Hall, London, where he was co-pastor with Anthony Palmer. Palmer was an acknowledged Independent and the church at Pinners Hall was a mixture of Independents and Baptists. Fownes and Palmer licenced the Glass House, or Pinners Hall, on April 19th 1672, as a place for worship. During this period Fownes is also noted as a lecturer at Lothbury.<sup>3</sup>

On the death of Palmer, and subsequent to Broadmead's failure to secure the services of Robert Brown from Westmancote, Fownes was called to the pastorate at Broadmead.<sup>4</sup> When he came to the church in November 1679 it had 166 members, of whom only 31 were paedo-Baptists.<sup>5</sup> It was in 1680 that a further wave of violent persecution broke out, and Fownes discussed what his attitude should be with the congregation. They agreed that if only informers came in he was to continue preaching, but if a magistrate came in he was to stop. If rioting broke out the people would disperse.<sup>6</sup>

During the whole of Hardcastle's ministry the administrator for baptism had been Thomas Jennings, but when Fownes came he administered baptism himself when he was fit.<sup>7</sup> In November 1681 persecution broke out again and Fownes attracted much attention by his preaching, and on one occasion only escaped by using a trap door into a neighbouring house.<sup>8</sup> Eventually he was taken by Sir Robert Yeomans and sent to Newgate on 18th December 1681. This culmination of persecution against various dissenters was noted in London, when Fownes, Weeks, and Troughton among others, are described as "nonconformist preachers without licence" and it was suggested "that the laws in force be put in speedy execution against them."<sup>9</sup> On 30th December 1681, when about 20 from Broadmead were sharing the prison with Fownes, they had a service and Fownes preached to them.<sup>10</sup> Fownes had been living in a house built by

<sup>1</sup> *CR*, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> D. Neale, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 199-200; cf. *Records*, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> *TBHS*, Vol. V, p. 75; *CR*, p. 380; *OR*, Vol. III, p. 672.

<sup>4</sup> *Records*, pp. 205, 206, 209-211.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218. See also Appendix 1(b).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 225.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>9</sup> *CSPD*, 1680-1681, p. 82.

<sup>10</sup> *Records*, p. 234.

Evins, and while he was in prison the church met there for worship sometimes.<sup>11</sup> After six weeks in prison, Fownes secured a *Habeas Corpus*, and appeared before the Kings' Bench on February 16th, 1682, when "Fownes, Minister of Bristol, was ... discharged by reason of a defect in his mittimus, but was obliged to enter into recognizance to appear the first day of next term,"<sup>12</sup> to answer, "for living in a Corporation, and holding a Conventicle there."<sup>13</sup>

On March 3rd 1681/2 Fownes was in Bath, on his way back to Bristol.<sup>14</sup> On Monday 13th March Fownes administered the Lord's Supper to the Broadmead congregation at the home of Mr. Joseph Jackson on Durdham Down.<sup>15</sup> On 20th May 1682 he was back in London to answer charges at the new law term.<sup>16</sup> He was discharged, but could not enter Bristol because of the Corporation Act. He preached to the church in various places such as Kingswood, Scruze Hole, Durdham Down, and Conham House.<sup>17</sup>

The strain of persecution was beginning to tell and several of the Presbyterians under Mr. Weeks conformed. Fownes asked the church if they still wished to meet in these various places and the church agreed to continue the meetings despite the threat of £20 a month fines for not going to the parish church. By an innocent remark of a by-stander Fownes was caught, and brought before Justices Player, Newton and Meredith and committed to Gloucester gaol for six months on 25th March 1682/3.<sup>18</sup> While he was in prison, a former parish minister, Mr. Young of Busselton, who had become a dissenter, visited Fownes and was himself imprisoned for six months.<sup>19</sup> Fownes wrote to his congregation while in Gloucester gaol, to keep them faithful.<sup>20</sup>

Calamy gives details of the trial: "When the officers brought him to Gloucester Castle they declared publicly he should not come out alive. His mittimus was for six months in which time they endeavoured to suborn witnesses to swear a riot against him, though no other rioter was named in the bill. Upon his trial when the witnesses came to swear, he looked on the justices of the sessions and said: Lord! gentlemen what would you have me do? I cannot swear anything against this person. However they empanelled a jury and proceeded. He pleaded his own cause very pleasantly; telling them, that 'He and his horse could not be guilty of a riot without company.' Hereupon the jury went out, and soon returning, the foreman gave the verdict *not guilty*. . . . However he was remanded back to prison."<sup>21</sup>

He lay in prison for nearly two and a half years and at various Sessions and Assizes his case was discussed but never brought to a conclusion. And all the time he suffered from the stone. "A

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>12</sup> CSPD, 1682, p. 182.

<sup>13</sup> Records, p. 239.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 240.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 240.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 241.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 243, 244, 246.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 247, 248.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 254.

physician declared that his confinement was his death and that it was not less murder than if they had run him through the first day he came in and more cruel."<sup>22</sup> He died in prison on 29th November 1685 at Gloucester.<sup>23</sup>

(f) *Thomas Vaux* (d. 1693)

Thomas Vaux succeeded Fownes as pastor in 1687 when the persecutions were coming to an end. He lived in St. Philip's parish, and is described as a gentleman. He married Dorothy Terrill, Edward's widow, on January 7th 1687, when Thomas Whinnell and Thomas Clarke were the bondsmen.<sup>1</sup> He was involved in a dispute between John Ford and Andrew Gifford at the Pithay, in 1692, and acted as an adjudicator of fourteen charges brought by Ford against Gifford.<sup>2</sup> Ivimey gives Vaux as the pastor of Broadmead at this time and describes its link with the Particular Baptist Western Association.<sup>3</sup> Vaux died on December 7th 1693, and was buried in the cemetery shared by Broadmead and Pithay at Redcross Lane.<sup>4</sup> His wife was buried near him on December 20th, 1697.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Palmer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 311.

<sup>23</sup> *Records*, 265. His son, George Fownes, jnr., was minister at Broadmead from 1693-1707. Fownes, jnr., changed his views on baptism, and became a minister of Castle Green Congregational Church in 1708, and subsequently held congregational pastorates at Andover and Nailsworth.

<sup>1</sup> *MBL*, dated Jan. 7, 1686/7; *BGAS*, Vol. 65, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *IJM*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Ivimey, Vol. 1, p. 509.

<sup>4</sup> *BBR*, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

### CHAPTER III

## BELIEF, WORSHIP AND PRACTICE

Broadmead began its life as an Independent congregation within the framework of the puritan revolution which culminated in Cromwell's accession to power. Dr. N. Ingello was a regular Anglican minister who also provided for their needs as a separatist congregation. His successor, Thomas Ewins, was a Bristol city lecturer, who ministered to them as a "preacher of the Gospel" but not as a minister in a pastoral relationship until after 1662.

Baptism on profession of faith became an issue in the church after 1650 as a result of the dispute with Hollister about the validity of any sacraments. One member sought such baptism and to secure it joined the Pithay congregation. When another member desired baptism on profession of faith the next year, the Broadmead congregation urged him not to sever his connection with them because of this. He was baptized by Henry Jessey in London, as were Purnell and Ewins in 1654. At this stage the church was Calvinist in theology, but adhered to the open communion views of Jessey. The Restoration brought a new situation, and in 1662 Ewins was formally called to be the church's pastor. When Ewins died in 1670, the majority of members had already been baptized on profession faith, and it was from Jessey's church that they called Thomas Hardcastle to the Broadmead pastorate. While ministering in Bristol Hardcastle lectured extensively on the Shorter Westminster Catechism: his only departure from its orthodoxy was in relation to baptism. Jessey's successors in London were moving towards a closed membership position in these years and this was one reason why on two occasions London ministers refused to ordain Hardcastle, though there were other factors. George Fownes, who had earlier shared a congregation with the Independent minister Anthony Palmer, in London, was the next Broadmead minister. It was in Fownes' ministry that Broadmead moved to a Particular Baptist position. Undoubtedly the strain of intense persecution had its effect, as did the views of Edward Terrill, the ruling elder at this time. By 1689, Thomas Vaux, Fownes successor in the pastorate, was able to sign the Particular Baptist Confession of Faith, on behalf of Broadmead, and as a member of the Western Baptist Association.<sup>1</sup> During this period doctrine and polity were

<sup>1</sup> *Things Most Surely Believed*. Reprint of the Baptist Confession of Faith, 1689, n.d., p. 2.

fluid and the congregation developed its views out of a concern for Scriptural truth.

The Broadmead church was essentially Calvinist in theology, as is evidenced by the writing of its leading elders, Purnell and Terrill, and the publications of its acknowledged leaders at various times, men like Cradock, Ewins, and Hardcastle. An open-communion Baptist church from 1654 until about 1680, it was closely aligned with Jessey's church. The Hardcastle lectures on the Shorter Westminster Catechism are the first definite indication we have of its orthodox views, and these were given in 1671/2.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly the good relationships with the Pithay congregation helped to develop the tendency towards a Particular Baptist position by the close of the century. The two churches shared a common burial ground,<sup>3</sup> and under persecutions they often shared their ministry in the fields and lanes outside Bristol. Terrill himself typifies the close personal relationship between the churches, since his wife was the daughter of William Listun, a member at the Pithay. One of his business associates was John Teague, also in membership at Pithay. The case of Thomas Whinnel, a former General Baptist who was asked to affirm the classic 1677 Confession of Faith, as a proof of his orthodoxy, illustrates the swing towards a Particular Baptist position in the latter part of the period.<sup>4</sup>

The worship of the church was public and all were invited to hear the gospel message proclaimed. In worship there were readings and expositions of Scripture passages, lengthy prayers by various members, and occasional psalm singing. Typical of the expositions were Hardcastle's letters from prison which were read at the afternoon session of worship. Psalms were normally sung by a person giving out a line, which the congregation then repeated, but Broadmead used books, possibly Tate and Brady's version. They stood to sing in unison together, particularly when the magistrates came into worship.<sup>5</sup> On special national occasions the church set aside days for prayer and fasting, and occasionally held days of prayer for divine healing.<sup>6</sup> There was also a prayer meeting during the week as a basic preparation for the Lord's Supper when it occurred on the following Sunday.<sup>7</sup> In times of severe persecution, after 1680, the church met in a variety of places for worship, in and around Bristol. The wisdom of maintaining public worship was often debated in these difficult periods, but it was never allowed to lapse.<sup>8</sup>

An existing letter from Ewins underlines this point. He was

<sup>2</sup> *Expositions*, a manuscript compiled by Terrill between Oct. 1671 and 1672, now in Bristol Baptist College Library.

<sup>3</sup> *Records*, pp. 173, 209, 226, 227.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241. It appears that Terrill's date, 1667, is an error.

<sup>5</sup> *Underhill*, pp. 257-354; *Records*, pp. 169, 172, 174.

<sup>6</sup> *Records*, pp. 140-142, 192.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

concerned that public worship should continue, and believed that all the members had a duty to bear witness at least once, though then the prospect of banishment should make them careful, remembering their family responsibilities.

A vital issue was the position of the elders in this: were they to be among those who willingly suffer imprisonment, or were they to be those who ensured that the flock was kept together and given spiritual food? Ewins in a letter to Terrill states it as his opinion that they have a duty to keep the church in good heart:

"Brother a necessity is upon you, to take a little more than ordinary care of the Church at this time. You have a providential call to break the bread of life to the poor and hungry ... laying aside all objections and exceptions, go on in the fear of the Lord, to feed his flock till the elder brethren or servants, come home."<sup>9</sup>

The church members gathered for a regular meeting on a week-day which they called a conference. At these gatherings members shared with each other their desire for guidance about the meaning of various Scripture passages, and gave I Cor. 14:30-33 as the precedent for this meeting. In this process many obscure passages were explained; doubts were resolved; a biblical basis for right Christian action was established; many points of doctrine and polity were clarified; and the preaching gifts of members were initially recognised.<sup>10</sup> From 1672 the conference was held regularly on Tuesdays, even during the times of most bitter persecution.<sup>11</sup>

From 1665 onwards it became the practice to keep members behind after public worship to deal with matters relating to membership, the discipline of members and "that we might more oftener see the whole church together".<sup>12</sup> It was this meeting which came to administer the "church power" of the congregation.

Hardcastle describes the church in these terms: "A company of saints called out of the world, united together in one congregation under Christ their Head by an Holy Covenant, either expressed or implied to worship the Lord and edify one another in all His holy ordinances." This sentence underlines two of the four principles noted by G. F. Nuttall as typical of "the congregational way" in this period, the principles of separation and covenant fellowship.<sup>14</sup> Hardcastle states that the distinguishing marks of a true church are the preaching of Scripture, the right performance of the ordinances, and the obedience of members to God's Word. The task of the members was "to hold forth the word of life ... there lies their glory ... and every member as he hath received the gift

<sup>9</sup> Underhill, pp. 80, 83.

<sup>10</sup> Records, pp. 99-100.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>13</sup> Expositions, p. 154.

<sup>14</sup> G. F. Nuttall, *Visible Saints: The Congregational Way, 1640-1660*, Blackwell, 1957, pp. 43-100.

to hold forth Christ to the world, to make Him aimiable to the world."<sup>15</sup>

The ministry of the church was the ministry of the whole membership, but certain members were called to special office in the church. This meant that Broadmead always had some kind of pastoral oversight, even if it did not call a person to be pastor. In the early period Dennis Hollister, Robert Purnell and Robert Simpson gave this kind of leadership as elders, but the church looked to Cradock, pastor of the exiled Llanvaches church, to celebrate the Lord's Supper.<sup>16</sup> On their return from London, the church accepted the pastoral oversight of a sympathetic parish minister, Nathaniel Ingello, whose public services they shared, and who also "break bread unto them." Growing dissatisfied with Ingello, the church approached Thomas Ewins of Llanvaches, and persuaded him to become a city lecturer at Bristol, so that they might have a share in his pastoral oversight. But Ewins was not actually called as pastor until 1662.

The seriousness of this event is attested in the *Records* by the emphasis upon several days of preparation culminating in a day of prayer and fasting. It was only the scruples of Richard Blinman which prevented the ordination being sealed by "the Ordinance of laying on of hands".<sup>17</sup> The unity of the congregation was asserted when Hardcastle and Fownes were called, not only by a unanimous show of hands, but also by each member signing the call to the minister.<sup>18</sup> There was also considerable concern to express the unity and fellowship between the churches on such occasions. The correspondence between London and Bristol over Hardcastle illustrates this, as does the attempt by Broadmead to involve London ministers in Hardcastles' ordination on two occasions subsequent to his settlement.<sup>19</sup> The church had a very high regard for the minister and agreed that this demanded not only liberality but regularity in giving. As a result of each member subscribing what they were able to, Hardcastle was provided with £20 per year and a house for his family.<sup>20</sup> At his death they gave £150 to his widow, as well as meeting the funeral costs amounting to £30. Fownes was also paid and housed in like manner during his ministry.<sup>21</sup>

The pastors were helped by a group of elders and deacons. Elders carried on the whole life of the church in the absence of the minister, with the exception of administering the ordinances of baptism and

<sup>15</sup> *Expositions*, p. 164.

<sup>16</sup> *Records*, p. 97.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132. The list for Fownes was omitted by Haycroft, though it appears in the original MSS book of Terrill. See Appendix 1(a).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 185, 186, 191. *Underhill*, pp. 102-205 where the lengthy correspondence is given in full.

<sup>20</sup> *Records*, pp. 134-136.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204, 205.



the Lord's supper.<sup>22</sup> Robert Purnell is the first known elder, though if Dennis Hollister is correct he was also an elder in the early period.<sup>23</sup> In 1662, Thomas Ellis was elected a ruling elder, and in 1667 Richard White and Edward Terrill were added to the list of elders. The next addition was when Daniel Gwilliam was elected to succeed Terrill.<sup>24</sup> The first deacon elected was Richard Moone in 1654, and over the years Spurgion, Robert Simpson, John Ford, Robert Bodenham and Nathaniel Snead were elected to this office by the voting of the church members.<sup>25</sup>

The *Records* first mention deaconesses when Mrs. West, a widow was elected in 1662, and following her death in 1673, Mrs. Murry was elected.<sup>26</sup> In 1678/9 four women were asked to consider the office of deaconess. Three of them allowed their names to go forward to the Church. All of them were widows over 60 years of age, which was to meet the requirement of I Tim. 5:9. Before they were elected, they gave a solemn assurance, this time in respect of I Tim. 5:11, that they would not get married again. After this, the church gave its approval, and they were then instituted by Terrill, the ruling elder. Their duties were to acquaint themselves with those who were sick, especially among the women members, and to visit them in their homes. They were to report the physical and spiritual condition of such folk to the elders, and to deal with the spiritual needs of those they visited. If necessary they were to attend the sick, and were to be maintained by the Church while they did so.<sup>27</sup>

Admission to the church was usually upon profession of faith, followed by believers baptism. Though this did not apply in the very early years, after 1654 it became the general practice. Terrill argues the position at various places in the *Records*. He traced the historical development over the previous century, and while rejecting the errors held by many of the continental Anabaptists, he did not reject "their sincere profession of that truth of Believers' baptism".<sup>28</sup> He rejected the covenant theology which advocated infant baptism as a parallel to circumcision, arguing that this would involve children being admitted to the Lord's Supper, which even paedobaptists will not allow. He thought the basic error lay in the attempt to govern the church by Law, and not by the Gospel.<sup>29</sup> In the matter of ordinances he claimed that "the ordinance of baptism must be allwayes so administered or done, *as at first* it was done by the Apostles, both as to the subjects to whom they did it,

<sup>22</sup> See Chapter II for Jennings; and *Records*, pp. 218, 219.

<sup>23</sup> Hollister, *op. cit.*, "I have ... about the space of eight or nine years past at their request taken care of them as an elder." (*To the Reader*.)

<sup>24</sup> *Records*, pp. 116, 117, 122, 123, 266.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 117, 142, 223, 224.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 142.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 104.

which was to Believers, that is, them that had given a profession of their faith; And the *manner how*, they did it, which was by dipping them in rivers, not sprinkleing them.”<sup>30</sup> He delighted to record the baptism of a whole household on profession of faith to illustrate a “living president that a man and all his (or whole) *Household* may be baptized and have no child in it.”<sup>31</sup>

Thomas Hardcastle’s teaching on baptism was clear. He taught that a Gospel minister should administer the ordinance by “dipping or plunging into water” because this was “the right sense of the word baptize, it suites with the ends and uses of Baptisme that is to signify our being buried with Christ.”<sup>32</sup> He disagreed with the shorter Catechism when it advocated “the infants of such as numbered of the visible church are to be baptised . . . There I disagree and the reason is because I do not find scripture for it . . . tis something strange to mee that a text which is the institution of circumcision a sacrament of ye old testament should be ye bottome of an Ordinance of the New Testament.”<sup>33</sup> He believed there could “be no conveyance of grace administered to a child” but stressed that baptised believers should conscientiously and charitably maintain their position “living under the power of it effectually”, although he was not for its imposition upon all.<sup>34</sup>

Baptism was usually administered by the pastor, but if he was not available through illness or some other cause, then the church appointed a baptismal administrator, in the case of Broadmead, Thomas Jennings, an itinerant preacher.<sup>35</sup>

During this period all types of people received baptism, among them Presbyterians and Quakers, as well as members of Broadmead who had long put off baptism.<sup>36</sup> People came from as far away as Woolland, Syson, Mangotsfield, Sodbury and Bedminster to be baptised.<sup>37</sup>

Not all who asked for baptism were accepted, and not everyone baptised came into full membership of the church.<sup>38</sup> However the usual process was a request for membership to the pastor or one of the elders. This was supported by a personal testimony given before all the members, in which the applicants gave “their several declarations of the worke of God upon their spirits, All declaring they were borne againe, and the manner how God wrought the Change upon their hearts, and that brought them to believe upon the Lord Jesus Christ.” The applicants then withdrew, and the members discussed each application individually. If nothing was

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>32</sup> *Expositions*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 129-130.

<sup>35</sup> *Records*, pp. 218, 219.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 137, 143.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 206, 226.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 139, 144, 184.

objected against the person they were received, and baptised in the river Frome, near Terrill's house usually, and then received in officially at the monthly communion service. "When the bread and wine lay on the Table in order to celebrate the Lord's Supper, just before the entrance of that ordinance, these six persons . . . were admitted into this congregation; and by our Pastour, Br. Hardcastle, according to our usual manner, the Priviledges and duties declared to them. . . . And then the pastor names them, one by one, they standing up all the while in the midst of the congregation, and so at last declares them members, in the name of Christ and this church, Saying, Wee give you the right hand of fellowship as members of this church."<sup>39</sup> This was the full and usual admission of members, but there were those received in who were not baptised, but simply made a profession of their faith.<sup>40</sup> Letters of transfer and commendation were received from other Baptist churches, as well as commendations for applicants from other communions.<sup>41</sup>

In every Baptist church there inevitably arises the issue of the state of children of believing parents who are not baptised. Thomas Ewins gave some clear teaching on this in the early days of Broadmead, though it is not possible to establish whether his successors in the pastorate continued his practice. There were those who did not agree with Ewins' "dry baptism", but Ewins recounts the incident in these words:

"There was about the time of my coming to Bristol a godly woman, one at whose husband's house the church did often use to meet. She having been delivered of a child, did about a month after, desire the church to meet at her house to render praise to the Lord, and to spend some time in prayer and conference, and accordingly the elder that then was, did upon the first day of the week appoint that the next meeting should be at such a place, to such an end. Now when the church was met she desired that her children might be presented to the lord by prayer, both that which she then lay in with, and one more the age of two years . . . the like was done again about two years after when the Lord gave her another child, and as it hath been done for many others upon like occasion and as I have known it often done in Wales, and here I recommend it to all sober Christians who are dissatisfied in their judgments and consciences about Infant baptism . . . and I the rather mention this because there are many who since they left off infant baptism, that are (as I conceive) too remiss in the duty of thankfulness and

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 190.

<sup>40</sup> As late as 1681 Sister Hollister was admitted on profession of faith without believer's baptism, *Records*, p. 225.

<sup>41</sup> Mrs. Hardcastle was accepted on the basis of a letter from Tho. Vincent, minister of Petty France Presbyterian Church, *Records*, p. 186. Br. King received a letter of dismission, *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187, Jane Lowe received by letter of commendation from Abergavenny, where Henry Maurice was minister, *Ibid.*, p. 226.

too careless of the precious souls of their children."<sup>42</sup>

The most important service in the life of the Church was the monthly ordinance of the Lord's Supper. All who believed and trusted in Christ were welcome at the Lord's table.<sup>43</sup> A day of preparation was usually held the week before the "breaking of bread", which was the way in which Terrill usually referred to the service.<sup>44</sup> The service was held monthly whenever possible, though in times of persecution it could often be much less frequently than that. The pastor was the only person allowed to preside at the table, even during times of persecution. Between Hardcastle's death and the arrival of George Fownes, his successor, the church did not break bread together "as wee doe not breake bread until wee have a pastour".<sup>45</sup>

Hardcastle in his *Expositions* does not discuss who may come to the table, nor whether it should only be those baptised on profession of faith. He does uphold the usual understanding of what takes place at the supper. In answer to the question: What are the words of command? He states, "Twofold. 1. To the ministers which are to give thanks, to break the bread, pour out the wine, and to give it to the communicants, now this giving of thanks or blessing doth separate the elements from a common use unto a sacred or sacramental use, without any change of substance or accident. 2. The words of command to the communicant are three, take, eat, and drink." In answer to the question as to what was signified by the act of communion, he replies: "The body and blood of Christ through faith applyes a Christ crucified and all the benefits of his death."<sup>46</sup>

An interesting discussion took place during the height of the final persecution recorded, as to whether the supper could be administered on a Monday. Before breaking bread together Fownes argued for its validity on several grounds, among them these two: the Scriptures give no special day for communion, and in any case the Lord instituted it on a Friday, not a Sunday. His words were persuasive and so the breaking of bread took place on the Monday.<sup>47</sup> It is impossible to estimate the value placed upon the Lord's Supper by members of the congregation, but it is evident from the *Records* how much it sustained them during persecution. At the height of the difficulties it is recorded that they allowed members from the Castle Meeting to join them in breaking bread together, so vital was it.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *The Church of Christ in Bristol*, pp. 63-64; *BQ*, XXIII, No. 4 Child dedication services in 17th century; pp. 165-169.

<sup>43</sup> *Records*, p. 105, see also p. 139 where non-members were admitted to communion.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 190.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 219.

<sup>46</sup> *Expositions*, p. 146.

<sup>47</sup> *Records*, p. 240.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

Another factor which leads to the realisation of the importance of the Lord's Supper in the life of the Church was the matter of disciplining members. There was a deep concern for the purity of the Church's life and membership, a purity which found expression in the withdrawing of the right to communion from those who "walked disorderly". But it was not a matter of spiritual superiority by some over the weaker members. Discipline usually expressed itself in a concern for others. One occasion is recorded where letters were sent to those who no longer lived locally to understand their Christian position. Copies of this letter from the members went to people all over Britain, even to the West Indies.<sup>49</sup> In the city itself, every attempt was made to keep members in regular fellowship, and the elders would on occasion be asked to go and remind some lapsed folk about their duty to be in public worship and at the Lord's Table. Before the procedures of discipline were set on foot every effort was made to encourage active fellowship.

The general pattern of discipline was that laid down in Matthew 18:15-20. If a member was concerned about another he would go and see him privately, and try to speak to him about the spiritual or moral issue in question. If this failed to achieve a result, then the member would take one or two others with him, to discuss it with the person concerned, to effect a reformation. It was only if this failed that the matter was brought to the attention of an elder or the pastor. If after an admonition from the pastor there was still no change, the matter was brought before the whole church. The Church meeting would then appoint visitors from the church and if this did not prove successful, they would then summon the person to appear before the church meeting to hear the charges, and to answer them. To fail to observe this procedure, or to act contrary to a clear Gospel rule, such as taking another member to Law over some issue, was not acceptable to the Church.<sup>50</sup> There were long discussions about discipline procedures, of which the most detailed was an application of the leprosy laws in Leviticus 13 to the discipline of the Church. Here it was clearly stated that for a member to be under the public admonition of the Church meant the withdrawal of a right to take part in communion for seven weeks. If the person showed signs of repentance, they were denied the ordinance for a further seven weeks. If there was obvious evidence of penitence, then they are allowed to return as full members after this period.<sup>51</sup>

The pronouncing of excommunication was a sad and solemn affair. The member was usually in the congregation to answer the charges. A failure to do this adequately resulted in the minister outlining the case with Scriptural comments about it. The men would then remove their hats, and all the members stand as the

<sup>49</sup> *Underhill*, pp. 166-187 for the letter sent and the replies received.

<sup>50</sup> *Records*, pp. 191, 192.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 195.

elder pronounced the sentence. "We doe declare that thou, Mary Smyth, for thy sin of fornication, art from henceforth noe more a member of this congregation; But cast forth into the world, and to enjoy no longer the priviledges of God's House, no Partaker with us in His Holy Mysteries, and the Lord have mercy on thy soule." The sentence was not for all time, and repentance could lead to reinstatement.<sup>52</sup> It should also be noted that this is the one and only case of fornication known to Broadmead between 1640 and 1687. There are a variety of lesser offences recorded in the *Records*, such as failure to attend the means of grace, walking disorderly, drunkenness, evil speaking about the Bishop of Bristol, and going to hear the Quakers.<sup>53</sup>

This period in the life of the Church was extremely fluid, when traditions were being made rather than followed. The faith of the church was not static, and was continually moving towards the orthodox Particular Baptist position, though the church always had an openness to new understandings of the faith and practice of the Church.

<sup>52</sup> "We should learn a good deal of the truth about class in this century if we could grasp the etiquette of hats. The first principle was that the master of the house and no one else, had the right to wear his own hat in his own home ... The second principle was that social inferiors 'uncovered' before their superiors ... Against this recognition of class distinctions the Quaker refusal to uncover to any man was a conscious protest ... it meant the boldest thing in social life. It was a revolutionary act. Taken over, like most of the Quaker beliefs and practices from the Anabaptist tradition, it was an affirmation of human equality, a revolt against class. Though the English Anabaptists were much less strict in observing the rule than were the early Quakers, there is ample evidence that the bolder of them did observe it. ... In 1657, when Venner, the militant Anabaptist preacher and Fifth Monarchist, was interrogated with his fellow-conspirators by Cromwell as Lord Protector, they would not 'put off hats to him and thou'd him at every word they spake to him.' These simple men proclaimed with a gesture the equalitarian doctrine which the Leveller leaders defended in their pamphlets." (*The Levellers and the English Revolution*, pp. 45-46, H. N. Brailsford, The Cresset Press, 1951). *Records*, pp. 213-217.

<sup>53</sup> *Records*, pp. 121, 139, 196, 198, 214, 215.

## CHAPTER IV

### BROADMEAD AND THE CLARENDON CODE

From 1660 until 1688 there was a period of official persecution of nonconformists by the authorities in England. Royalists sought revenge, and local authorities were soon busy enforcing the legislation against nonconformity which was still on the statute books. The enactment of new laws against nonconformity brought further confusion to an already intricate situation so that it was virtually impossible to imprison a nonconformist illegally! Though the policy was not applied consistently over the whole of England, and though there were times of comparative peace, persecution caused incalculable suffering. The *Records* are an apt illustration of such suffering, the bulk of the material dealing with these years.

In the Declaration of Breda in 1660 Charles II issued a statement which was taken as a genuine expression of his policy, which gave "liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence".<sup>1</sup> However, subsequent events proved that the contrary was the King's policy.

For many Anglicans, the restoration of the King implied the explicit restoration of the Church of England as it had been prior to the troubles between 1640 and 1660, and many churches reverted to worship upon the pattern of the Book of Common Prayer even before the King landed in England. But Presbyterians as well as Anglicans had denounced toleration in religious matters. They appealed to the generally held belief that the life of the community was indivisible. The church was the religious expression of that corporate life, and therefore they argued that the unity of the church was the fundamental necessity for the nation's solidarity and strength. This required Charles II to decide whether Presbyterianism should be included within the established church or whether it was to be allowed freedom to worship outside Anglicanism. In October 1660, Baron Hyde, soon to become Lord Clarendon, framed for the King a Declaration on Ecclesiastical Affairs which favoured comprehension. This statement recognised the help Presbyterian

<sup>1</sup> *English Puritanism*, edited by Peter Baynes, London, 1882, p. 3.

ministers had given to Charles II while he was in Holland, acknowledged their loyalty to the crown, and called for a Presbyterian-Anglican Conference to discuss the issues. Allowing for a revision of the Prayer Book and certain ritual concessions the Declaration suggested a limited Episcopacy, in which the Bishops were to act as the presidents of annual diocesan synods, which were to settle by vote all questions relating to the diocese.

If Hyde had been allowed to handle the negotiations the comprehensive settlement might have been effected, but Charles II favoured toleration which would secure religious freedom for Roman Catholics under the pretext of conferring it upon the nonconformists. It was only with difficulty that he was dissuaded from adding to Hyde's draft Declaration the repeal of penal clauses which would give toleration to Catholics and nonconformists alike. Both Anglicans and Presbyterians were opposed to a policy of toleration and the Declaration was defeated. This meant that the Church Settlement was left for the May 1661 Parliament, and when Parliament met it ignored both comprehension and toleration, legislating on its own lines a series of acts of which Clarendon was not the originator.

The reasons for this policy change are complex. The rising of the Fifth Monarchy Men, led by Venner in January 1661, seeking to establish the reign of King Jesus by means of revolution, certainly evoked no sympathy from the May Parliament. Though disowned by Baptists, Independents and Quakers alike, the riot did considerable damage to the nonconformist cause, and it was exploited by those who disliked both comprehension and toleration. Resurgent Anglicanism, intent upon the full restoration of the Church within the state, manipulated the Savoy conference so that Presbyterians were put in a petitioning position by the dominant Anglicans led by the Bishop of London. Even before the Conference came to an unhappy close, Parliament had launched its attack on dissent by passing the Corporation Act, which effectively removed nonconformists from local corporations, Parliament, and the administration of the law.

Although Clarendon abandoned the policy of comprehension, the King clung tenaciously to the policy of toleration and on three separate occasions sought to secure it. He held up the Act of Uniformity for three months in 1662, and later that year tried to dispense with laws enforcing religious conformity and requiring oaths by an Indulgence. But in February 1663 it was clear he could not proceed and dropped the measures. In March 1672 he issued a second Indulgence suspending all the penal laws against nonconformists and recusants, but by February 1673 the Commons resolved that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament." When it was evident the government would not get authorisation for its necessary supplies unless the Indulgence was repealed, the King yielded by withdraw-



ing the Indulgence on March 8th 1673. Persecution was renewed and intensified by the new provisions of the 1670 Conventicle Act.

### *The Acts of the Clarendon Code*

#### *The Corporation Act (1661)*

This act required all persons holding municipal office to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, and was a test which specifically excluded Presbyterians. The Covenant was the agreement between the Scots and the English Parliament in 1643. Its professed aims were the maintenance of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the reformation of the Church of England, the Uniformity of the Churches of the British Isles by the extirpation of Catholicism and episcopacy and the preservation of the rights of Parliament in England in its struggle with Charles I. In 1650 and 1651 Charles II had been forced to subscribe to it by the Scots, but in his Declaration on Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1660 he specifically renounced it. The second requirement of the Act was that all holding municipal office should take an oath of non-resistance to the established government of church and state, a requirement which specifically excluded all Republicans. The third test was that the Sacrament must be taken according to the rites of the Church of England, which excluded Roman Catholics and most sectaries.

The immediate effect of this act was a consultation about taking oaths before civil magistrates, between Broadmead and Hynam's Pithay congregation. They drew up a form of words pledging allegiance which was sent to the King for approval by the Mayor, Sir Henry Creswick, but it was refused. However most of them took the oath, and those who did not, were not excluded from the church.<sup>2</sup>

Ewins was turned out of his lectureship at St. Nicholas and Christchurch by the city authorities, but continued preaching at a hall in the Friars and in his own house. He was imprisoned in his own house a month during the summer of 1661 for preaching, but was released at the Quarter Sessions.<sup>3</sup>

As late as 1681, William Harford of the Pithay meeting was brought before the magistrates and charged under this Act. His refusal to take the oath required resulted in a fine of £20 being levied by distraint of his goods.<sup>4</sup>

#### *The Act of Uniformity (1662)*

The Act began by claiming to settle the peace of the church by

<sup>2</sup> *Records*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 116.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

the introduction of a revised and altered Book of Common Prayer, which would give uniformity to worship and advance both the honour and propagation of religion. To give immediate effect to this uniformity the clergy were publicly to read morning and evening prayer according to the new Book, and publicly to declare their own unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained within it. The penalty for not doing so, was to be deprived their post and rights "as if dead". A similar declaration in future would be required of all persons in ecclesiastical offices.

Ecclesiastical persons in university, college or school and private tutors were required to take an oath declaring the unlawfulness of taking arms against the King. They were to conform to the liturgy of the Church of England as now established, and to repudiate the Solemn League and Covenant or any other attempt to alter the government in Church or State.

After 1662, all who administered the sacrament before they had been made a priest by the prescribed form of episcopal ordination, were liable to a fine of £100.

Some 600 alterations had been made in the Prayer Book, but there was no longer to be a discussion of its contents, as in time past, only unfeigned assent and consent to everything within it. The repudiation of the Solemn League and Covenant was specifically aimed at an end of all such discussion, since one of the Covenant's central aims was the reformation of the Church.

The effect of the Act was to deprive more than a fifth of the total clergy of their livings, and it is to this that the origin of "non-conformity" can be traced. The Act was primarily a measure of definition, whereas the rest of the Clarendon Code was a means of persecuting those excluded by the Act's definition.

The ejected ministers claimed that the authority of the Church in its faith and order was distinct from and not subordinate to the state. They believed all matters of faith and order were to be judged by the touchstone of Scripture; that the historic episcopate was not a divinely required mark of the visible church, nor a necessity for its effective ministry; and that the orderly public worship of God was not exclusively contained within the liturgy of a particular book.<sup>5</sup>

The effect of the Act in Bristol was to make it clear that Presbyterians were now as unacceptable to the authorities as Baptists, Independents, and Quakers, and separate Presbyterian churches date from this time. The Act resulted in the removal of Ewins from his office as a city lecturer since section XIX of the Act specifically required such a person to give his unfeigned assent to the 39 Articles, and monthly to declare his "unfeigned assent and consent unto and approbation of the said book to the use of all the prayers, rites, and ceremonies, forms and orders therein con-

<sup>5</sup> For a full discussion of the effect of the Act on the Baptists, see E. A. Payne and N. S. Moon, *Baptists and 1662*, Carey Kingsgate Press, 1962.

tained and prescribed according to the form aforesaid".<sup>6</sup> It also resulted in a Royalist and largely Anglican City Council being returned in Bristol, and it was this which enabled Sir John Knight, the elder, to launch his attack upon the Broadmead and Pithay pastors. Ewins, and Thomas Patient of the Pithay, were put in Newgate prison for refusing to subscribe the Act, as were Terrill and Robert Simpson. The congregation continued to meet regularly and the effect of the Uniformity Act was mild in comparison with later Acts.

### *The Conventicle Act (1664)*

This Act gave power to the persecuting zeal of men like Sir John Knight, the elder. It began by putting in force the Act which was passed in the 35th year of Elizabeth I, which enjoined attendance at the parish church. It then proposed legislation against the "growing and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries ... who under the pretence of tender consciences, do at their meetings contrive insurrections."<sup>7</sup>

Any person aged 16 years or more who was present at a meeting where worship took place, "in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England", and at which there were five or more persons other than those of the household, could be convicted on proper evidence, and sent to prison, for at least three months, or until a fine not in excess of £5 had been paid. The fine money was to be used for poor relief in the parish where the offence took place. For a second offence, six months imprisonment or a £10 fine could be imposed. A third offence meant trial at the Quarter Sessions, and those found guilty were to be transported for seven years. Any sheriff failing to secure such transportation would be fined £40. The offender could secure release from transportation upon the payment of £100, half of which would go to repair parish churches, and half for road maintenance in the parish where the offence was committed.<sup>8</sup> Any person evading transportation or returning illegally would be treated as a felon to be executed, and all his goods would be forfeit to the crown. The civil and military authorities were to use "the best means they can to dissolve and dissipate, or prevent all such unlawful meetings." Penalties were imposed upon those who knowingly allowed such conventicles and to gaolers who allowed freedom to such people in their custody.

It was this Act which really affected the Bristol congregations. The fear of transportation was real, and the heavy fines for

<sup>6</sup> Bayne, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 478. *Records*, pp. 227, 233, where Terrill is accused specifically of opposing the Government.

<sup>8</sup> Baynes, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

attendance at nonconformist worship were a deterrent. Of this period Richard Baxter wrote: "while the danger and suffering lay on the minister alone, the people were very courageous, and exhorted them to stand it out, and preach until they went to prison. But when it came to their own case, they were venturous until they were surprised and imprisoned, but then their judgments much altered..."<sup>9</sup>

An existing letter from Ewins underlines this point. He thinks that all the members have a duty to bear witness at least once, though then the prospect of banishment should make them careful, remembering their family responsibilities.

"But when may we say, Our testimony is finished? I answer, when you have witnessed against this late unrighteous act, or law or man, which is directly and so highly against the prerogative of Jesus Christ; or, when you have suffered the first penalty either by fine or imprisonment, then, I conceive, you have borne your testimony, and then you might come to family meetings, as Paul did at Corinth, Acts. XVIII, 4; XIX, 8, 9. Why should any fear or draw back, upon the account of the first penalty of this Act? It is not worth mentioning. You may redeem yourselves out for a shilling; if not they will turn you out in a week or two.

"But some will say, They will do that but in policy, that they may take us again and hasten our banishment. I answer, let their ends be what they will, if you be out, you may then confine yourselves to private family meetings, and so escape banishment; having borne your testimony so fully, you may comfortably rest, and leave the work to those that have not yet been taken".<sup>10</sup>

### *The Five Mile Act (1665)*

Passed in October 1665, this Act was aimed at "restraining non-conformists from inhabiting in Corporations" and has been called the most ferocious of the persecuting measures taken by the Cavalier Parliament, though this seems an extravagant claim compared with the effects of the Second Conventicle Act of 1670. It was directed against "persons in Holy Orders, or Pretended Holy Orders, or pretending Holy Orders" as well as against those who hold ecclesiastical office. No such nonconforming person was to come, or to be at any time, within five miles of the city, town or borough or place where he had carried out religious duties contrary to the law. When the first conventicle Act outran its three year period, it was this Act which was used to suppress meetings until the Second Conventicle Act, 1670.

Terrill records many disturbances and several imprisonments during 1665, but gives no details of the persecution. In November

<sup>9</sup> Richard Baxter, *Narrative*, pt. II, p. 436.

<sup>10</sup> *Underhill*, pp. 80-84.

of 1665 he records that "a troop of horse came to the city, as reported on purpose to suppress the meetings, and they were very abusive to those meetings they found." Terrill ascribes the freedom to worship which they enjoyed at Broadmead between 1666 and 1670 to two factors. First there was the moderation of John Willoughby, the Mayor, a fear of the Plague, and a revival of sympathy towards nonconformists in Bristol. The second factor was that the London nonconformists had liberty as a result of the fire of London destroying all the churches, so "that we also had liberty about four years."<sup>11</sup> A factor which he does not mention but which is obviously involved is the fall of Clarendon from power in 1667. Also in these years an attempt was made to present a Bill of Comprehension which would include many nonconforming ministers within the Church of England. However, the Bill was not presented, and a severer Conventicle Act was introduced in 1670.<sup>12</sup>

### *The Second Conventicle Act (1670)*

The fall of Clarendon and the attempt to introduce a Bill for Comprehension when the original Conventicle Act failed did not deter Archbishop Sheldon from gathering reports from his diocesan bishops which supported the need for the Second Conventicle Act, passed in 1670.

The Second Conventicle Act was far more searching than its predecessor, although it dispensed with transportation and the death penalty which had been written into the Act of the 35th year of Elizabeth.<sup>13</sup> Fines were to be exacted at 5/- for the first offence, and 10/- at every offence thereafter. The fines could be obtained by "distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels"; or if this failed, then by the sale of the "goods and chattels of any other person or persons who shall be then convicted in manner aforesaid of the like offence at the same conventicle" up to a total of £10.<sup>14</sup> The money was to be paid to the magistrate who then divided it in equal portions between the Crown, the parish relief, and the informer.<sup>15</sup> A fine of £20 was levied upon teachers or preachers of such conventicles, with power to get the money from those in attendance if necessary.

A person could appeal against such a conviction, and elect for trial by jury, but if he did not proceed with the case, or lost it, "the said justices of the sessions shall give treble costs against such

<sup>11</sup> *Records*, p. 121, cf. pp. 221, 222, 241, 243, for specific mention of this Act.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 222, 227.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131 and note in index on Mary Baldwin. In the Bristol Sessions Book for Oct. 1670, the division of the fines is clearly given, and this is noted in *OR*, Vol. III, p. 52, n. 1.

offender for his unjust appeal," and no appeal could be made to a higher court than the Quarter Sessions.

The constables of the parish could break open and enter any house where a Conventicle was alleged, on a warrant from the justices. Any constable who neglected to act upon information received, or who wilfully omitted his duty was liable to a penalty of £5. Justices or magistrates who neglected their duty were liable to a £100 fine, half of which would go to the informer.<sup>16</sup> The Act was to be "construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof."

Terrill makes it clear that the first really effective persecution came in 1670, the year of Sir Robert Yeaman's mayoralty. It is not until this point in the story that he begins to talk of "our persecutions", and the six previously listed are given far less space than this and the subsequent three persecutions. The Bishop of Bristol, Gilbert Ironsides, Senior, urged on by a circular letter from Archbishop Sheldon which pointed out the great advantages of the Act for Anglicans, appointed informers to visit the meetings for four weeks together, beginning May 10th 1670. The doors of the meetings were locked, but the parish constables broke them down to effect entry. The Mayor came personally and turned them out of the building, and for a number of weeks the trained band was called out each Saturday night to nail up the doors of the meeting houses. The Broadmead congregation met in lanes and highways for several months, finally moving to new accommodation in Edward Terrill's Garden House, near Lawford's Gate.<sup>17</sup> There was a temporary respite between 1670 and 1671 when Mr. John Knight, the younger, a sympathetic nonconformist, was Mayor of the city. In 1672 Charles II issued his Declaration of Indulgence and the congregation had peace for a while. They took over the rooms vacated by the Quaker meeting at the lower end of Broadmead, in August 1671.

### *The Test Act (1673)*

Such liberty was short lived, and the Test Act was introduced into Parliament in 1673, which aimed specifically at "preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants". It excluded all Catholics from every office in national and local government as well as from all commissioned offices in the army and the navy. The Act required all holders of these offices in the gift of the crown to take the oath of allegiance, and to "receive the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England". Evidence of the latter had to be given by a signed certificate from the parish

<sup>16</sup> *Records*, p. 127.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

minister and church warden, and witnessed by "two credible witnesses, at least, upon oath." Any person refusing to do this would be "adjudged incapable and disabled in law." If a person was convicted of continuing in such an office without meeting the demands of the Test Act, he would be fined £500. The Act was ostensibly to keep out Catholics from public office, and to curb the activities of the Catholic Duke of York, the heir to the throne. Its insistence upon the reception of the communion in the Church of England effectively removed dissenters from all such posts.

Terrill's account in the *Records* of what he terms the eighth, ninth and tenth persecutions dominate the history of Broadmead in the seventeenth century. It was in this period that a regular record was kept in a "Waste book", now lost, of all the weekly offences against property and individuals. It clearly illustrates the worst abuses to which Sheldon's Second Conventicle Act gave rise.<sup>18</sup> The new Bishop of Bristol, Guy Carleton, a former Captain in Charles I's army, and a chaplain to Charles II while in exile, instigated the troubles which began in 1674. He had the active co-operation of Ralph Ollive, Senior, the Mayor and landlord of the Three Tuns tavern, the help of John Hellier, an attorney at law in the city, who owned the Three Tuns. Hellier was warden of St. James' parish in 1674, where there were three dissenting meetings, at Broadmead, the Pithay, and the Castle. The peculiarly vicious nature of Hellier dominated the persecution of the three congregations from the beginning. He was a constant source of trouble, not only to dissenters, but also to aldermen, magistrates, and parish constables who objected to his continual harassment of themselves and the dissenters. The pecuniary importance of his activities as an informer and an attorney has not always been fully noted. He personally collected one third of the fines imposed, and also secured a third of all such fines for meeting the needs of poor relief in his parish. For nearly ten years Hellier, and his brother George, maintained a constant attack upon the meetings of all dissenters in his parish to great personal advantage.

Thomas Hardcastle was imprisoned in this period and during this time wrote a series of twenty-two letters to the congregation. The letters were read, in place of the sermon, and deal with the theme of the meaning of true faith. They were undoubtedly an inspiration to the congregation at this time.<sup>19</sup> In these letters Hardcastle comes to certain conclusions about the purposes of God in times of persecution. He suggests that persecution is as precious as "a season of grace", and that the minister has a special responsibility in this matter. "Ministers and watchmen must meet with the waters of affliction and stand in them and see to the safety of the whole, with hazard to themselves, . . . and, . . . when God calls

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 226.

<sup>19</sup> The letters are printed in full in *Underhill*, pp. 257-354.

for it, take up the cross of imprisonment when it directly lies in our way."<sup>20</sup>

Hardcastle understood the situation demanded a close look at the congregations' attitude to worship, and the inner drives which motivated the congregation. He believed it was good that persecutions should come because they would not only deepen faith and patience, but they would eventually bring about the conversion of many. Hardcastle did not see a quick end to the persecutions and said that greater trials and troubles would come: "these are but the footmen you have been running with; these are but the little figures of Anti-Christ."<sup>21</sup>

This brought Hardcastle to a lengthy discussion of the nature of Christian faith at its deepest point. He talks of the precious gift of faith in God which purifies the heart of a man. He sees such faith as a veritable shield in danger. This is the kind of faith by which the just shall be able to live: a faith which brings a deep and lasting joy. Such faith takes the warnings which God's judgments provide, looks upon life as a pilgrimage to God, and is capable of overcoming the world. When Christians are obedient to Christ, then despite all outward factors, they will enter into the very presence of God.

It was teaching of this nature and calibre which sustained the church in these dark days of persecution and in the years after 1680.

The persecutions which broke out in 1680 were closely related to the national fear of sedition which was encouraged by the revealing of supposed and real Catholic plots against the throne. Such fears were encouraged by the Huguenots who fled regularly from Holland into England with horrifying tales of Catholic persecution. In October 1678 the so-called "Popish Plot" conjectured by the notorious Titus Oates was revealed, and secured much support in the popular mind when the magistrate before whom Oates had sworn the details was murdered, and the treasonable activities of the Jesuit Father Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, was discovered. In 1680 the Earl of Shaftesbury directly challenged the throne by suggesting that the protestant, but illegitimate, Duke of Monmouth be made the next heir to the throne.<sup>22</sup> Others favoured allowing James to succeed under an Act restricting his power, and then enthroning his daughter, Mary, and her husband, the protestant William of Orange. Civil war threatened, it seemed, but the nation and Charles drew back from such a course, Shaftesbury was now the centre of an opposition group with considerable dissenting support. Monmouth made a journey through the country in 1682 and attracted a good deal of support to his cause. In 1683 the Rye House Plot was discovered,

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 259, 265.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p.

<sup>22</sup> *Records*, p. 224.



which sought to assassinate Charles II and the Duke of York, and secure the throne for the Duke of Monmouth. Monmouth escaped to Holland, was pardoned, and eventually returned to the court, but was then banished again, leaving the Duke of York in the ascendant in 1684.

It was in 1684 that the Lord Lieutenants of the several counties were directed to seize the arms of persons disaffected to the government. In Gloucester the list of such disaffected people has survived with a list of the arms they held. It is likely that the names of suspects were derived from a document seized from the Earl of Shaftesbury in 1681. Alphabetically listed, they appeared under two heads, "men worthy" (of hanging as was understood), and "worthy men" who supported Monmouth. The list reveals that not only the Gifford family at the Pithay, but also the members at Broadmead and the Castle, as well as some Presbyterians and Quakers were supporters of Monmouth.<sup>23</sup>

When James II, an avowed Papist came to the throne in 1685, there was a considerable amount of unrest in the country. He put in force the penal laws against dissenters with an unparalleled ferocity especially after the ill-fated rising of the Duke of Monmouth in the West country. The severity was epitomised in the work of the infamous Judge Jeffreys, who ordered the hanging of 74 at Dorchester, 233 in Somerset, and 840 transported as convicts to Barbados in the West Indies. The *Western Martyrology* amply confirms the inhumanity and suffering which dissenters experienced at this time. The courts were crowded with victims, dissenters' meeting houses were closed after ransacking, and the worshippers pursued through the countryside, and many prisons overflowed with nonconformists.<sup>24</sup>

Eventually discovering the futility of such a programme, James II issued a declaration for liberty of conscience in April 1687, which effectively nullified the Test Act, and resulted in his appointing many Roman Catholics to public office in the government, the armed forces, and the Universities. He attempted to implicate the dissenters in this move by setting up a commission to enquire how much damage had been done to dissenting property and persons in the last ten years, but the dissenters realised the implications of this and refused to co-operate. Dissenters and churchmen, united in their total opposition to Catholicism, now worked for the enthronement of Mary, James II's daughter, and William of Orange. In May 1688 James tried to enforce the reading of his Indulgence in the London parish churches, but the bishops refused to allow it, petitioning the King not to make alterations in religion without the consent of Parliament. Imprisoned in the Tower, the bishops were tried and acquitted, amidst much rejoicing in London. Eventually, without bloodshed, James II fled the country and

<sup>23</sup> BGAS, Vol. II, p. 110 f.

<sup>24</sup> *Records*, p. 234.

William and Mary were established on the throne by act of Parliament.

A Toleration Act was passed, which followed freedom of worship to dissenters, but still denied them the right to share officially in public service because of the restrictive clauses of the Test Act.

During this period Hellier in Bristol systematically wrecked five of the dissenting meetings, causing hundreds of pounds worth of damage. His action at the Castle Meeting on January 22nd 1681 was typical of this period. At 6 p.m. the authorities broke open the doors of the meeting and tried to arrest the preacher. He escaped in the confusion, through a window. Hellier and the Sheriff then proceeded to break down the pulpit and had the "boys and rabble" break all the windows. They left a watch in the building over night, and in the morning returned to finish their work of destruction.<sup>25</sup>

The variety of laws in force, old and new, made a complex legal situation, as in the case of George Fownes, the Broadmead pastor. At various times different charges were brought, making it possible to keep him in prison on various pretexts for over two years. He eventually died in prison, and it is clear from contemporary evidence that the personalities of the justices and other law officers were clearly prejudicial to the correct administration of the law.

It was situations like this, which caused dissenters to join together in providing the money necessary for their legal defence in the courts. On one occasion the chasing of the dissenters resulted in the drowning of a Mr. Ford from Taunton. This matter was eventually brought successfully before the courts, and those involved among the Constables, punished.<sup>26</sup> Terrill and others enlisted the support of various attorneys and were quick to point out faults in the warrants and other legal documents which technically made them invalid.<sup>27</sup>

Puritanism, which had suffered an eclipse in the years immediately before the Restoration, now rediscovered its meaning and purpose. Many suffered abuse at the hands of informers, being fined, sent to prison, and sometimes being held until the next Quarter Sessions. In court they were often ridiculed, and in prison they experienced extreme privation in cells that were vastly overcrowded. Heat, cold, filth and disease made conditions intolerable, and a bribed and vindictive gaoler could make matters even worse. Many prisoners died, and most were released with their health permanently impaired. For the majority the distraint of goods, added to imprisonment, spelt financial ruin. The *Records* amply illustrate the sufferings endured by Bristol dissenters at this time. But it is also clear that the sufferings drew out depths of character which impressed

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 237.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 249, 252.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 235, 251; *Underhill*, p. 522.

everyone and eventually brought a revulsion against the informer, and this in turn led to the limited acceptance of dissenters which the Toleration Act allowed.

## CHAPTER V

### THE PERSECUTION OF OTHER BRISTOL DISSENTERS

#### (a) *The Pithay Particular Baptists*

The first Particular Baptist Church in Bristol met originally in the Fryers, Bristol and then in the vicinity of the Pithay. Terrill suggests this group came into existence immediately prior to the civil war. When Bristol fell to Prince Rupert in 1643 they moved to London and maintained their identity while associating with the congregation led by William Kiffin. This group was the basis of the Particular Baptist Church which is clearly in existence by early 1650.

The earliest evidence of the congregations' existence is the expulsion of Elizabeth Thomas from the church on 11th November 1652. In 1653 the baptism of John Teague, Izabell Cattell and Thomas Munday by Henry Hynam, the pastor, is noted.<sup>1</sup> Hynam was pastor of the church till his death on April 19th 1679. One of his assistants was Thomas Patient, who worked in Bristol between 1660 and 1666, when he returned to London. Referred to as Mr. Patience in the *Records*, Terrill records Patient's arrest on 4th October 1663 and his committal to Newgate. The Bristol Sessions book notes his release in 1664, when bail was given for his appearance at the next Quarter Sessions.<sup>2</sup>

In 1677 Andrew Gifford was elected co-pastor, and he assumed full responsibility when Hynam died in 1679. Gifford was ordained by two London ministers, Nehemiah Cox and Daniel Dyke, though he had been a regular preacher for some years previous, and prior to the Act of Uniformity had preached with great acceptance at St. Leonard's Bristol. He preached when and where he could, and shared with George Fownes, John Weeks, and John Thompson, in preaching to the Kingswood colliers.

He was imprisoned three times in Newgate and once in Gloucester. The suspicion with which he was regarded was well founded since he was involved, as were all his family, in the Mon-

<sup>1</sup> *IJM*, pp. 130-132; Underhill, *Confessions of Faith*, London, 1854, p. 73, where Henry "Hineham" of Bristol signs the 1656 Somersets Confession. *J.E.H.*, XI, (1960), pp. 213-218.

<sup>2</sup> *J.E.H.*, XVII, No. 2, p. 220. Bristol Sessions Book (1653-1671), pp. 52-53; *IJM*, p. 130.

mouth Rebellion of 1685.<sup>3</sup> His grandson has given his own description of the extent of the family involvement:

"The Rev. Andrew Gifford, my grandfather, was with several others in the City of Bristol, deeply engaged in the affair of the Duke of Monmouth. He collected a considerable sum, and provided ammunition. And when the Duke came near the city he sent his son to Knowl Castle, a mile out of the city, to invite the Duke and his friends in; assuring him that there were many friends and supplies provided, and that a part of the city walls was undermined to let them in with ease and safety. But the Duke of Beaufort the Lord Lieutenant, having set fire to a ship in the harbour, and sent the Duke of Monmouth word that if he attempted the city he would burn it down, the Duke, seeing the flames, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to preserve the city from being destroyed. And thus, being betrayed by those about him, especially Lord Gray, he desired my father to return his thanks to his friends; but, the council having determined otherwise he should remove into the West, and earnestly desired my father to accompany him; which my father perceiving that the Duke was betrayed, civilly refused telling him he must now return as his commission was at an end . . . The next day was the fatal battle of Sedgmore. He was a melancholy witness of the sufferings of five or six, executed without Redcliff gate on account of it; but lived to share the joy of the Prince of Orange's arrival; the first news of whose embarkation, at Helvoet sluice was brought to Bristol by his brother Samuel Gifford, who sailed the very night before the Prince. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

Andrew Gifford's co-pastor at the Pithay from 1680 was William Harford, who had been baptised by Hynam in 1666. Harford was arrested on at least three occasions for preaching at the Pithay.<sup>5</sup>

#### (b) *The General Baptist Congregation*

Terrill recorded the existence of a small General Baptist Church in the city, when he noted in 1674 that such a group met in the Castle area of Bristol. Because there were only 30 or 40 of them they escaped the notice of the persecutors who concentrated their attention upon the numerically larger congregations. At this time they were led by a Mr. Kitchen, who in 1680 is referred to as Capt. Kitchen. Thomas Whinnell preached quite regularly to the Church before its demise in 1680. The church was probably in existence in 1653, when the Pithay minutes note the exclusion of

<sup>3</sup> BGAS, Vol. II, p. 104 ff.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. Fuller, *Rise and Progress of Bristol Dissent*, pp. 225-226. This extract forms no part of the book as published, but it is written in the front in A. Gifford, Jr.'s, copy of *Western Martyrology*, now held in Bristol Baptist College Library.

<sup>5</sup> *Records*, pp. 147, 225, 242; *BBR*, pp. 6, 8; *IJM*, pp. 130-132; *MBL*, p. 98.

Jane Williams and Mary Rosser because they held General Baptist principles. Though Terrill reckons this church was not molested because of its relatively small size, the effects of persecution must have contributed to its collapse.<sup>6</sup>

(c) *The Castle Hill Independents*

The first Independent congregation in Bristol, which met originally in the Castle under the protection of the Governor, Colonel Adrian Scroope, was in existence by 1654. In 1659 its pastor was John Knowles, a former lecturer at Colchester, who after a spell in New England, had come to Bristol in 1653 as Preacher at the Cathedral and Rector of St. Werburgh's.<sup>7</sup> The church suffered much in the persecution, as the frequent references in the *Records* demonstrate. There is another contemporary source for the effects of the persecution published in 1675 entitled: *A Reply to the Bristol Narrative: or a more Just Account of the Imprisonment and Death of Mr. John Thompson, Minister of the Gospel*.

"It pleased God, partly through the prudence, peaceableness, and moderation of the former Bishop of Bristol, and partly by the King's declaration and license, that he passed the most part of his time in Bristol without molestation, and that even when other places were disturbed: and so had done probably to this day, had not the forward zeal of the present Bishop been let loose against him. The Bishop no sooner came here than he began with little artifices and restless instigations to provoke the civil Magistrates, who till then had granted all the peace and liberty we could desire, to disturb our assemblies, and to put the laws in execution against our ministers, and particularly that of Corporations, as the most probable expedient to destroy our meetings. That the Bishop might give the most effectual assistance to this work, he substituted as many of his clergy as he could prevail with, as informers, there being very few others at that time base enough for the work, to visit our meetings, both upon Sabbaths and weekdays, to swear against our ministers in order to their imprisonment. The parsons employed against the Castle Meeting were Mr. Heath and Mr. Godwin, and to show how particular an enmity they bore against Mr. Thompson, caused him to be the first minister convicted, upon which conviction the fine of twenty pounds was inflicted on him, and warrants for distress were issued out. In order to avoid these he was forced for several weeks before his apprehension to keep fast his doors. The constables were often questioned why distress was not taken, who still replied that his doors were always kept

<sup>6</sup> *Records*, pp. 145, 225, 240; *IJM*, p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> G. F. Nuttall, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

shut. The next plot was to seize his person, which, that it might be more effectually compassed, some civil and military officers, besides ecclesiastics, combined in order to do it. Upon Wednesday, the 10th of February, the Bishop, together with four clergymen, Williamson, Pledwell, Heath and his own chaplain, two justices of the peace, one Captain of the militia, with some other military officers, come altogether to the meeting where he was preaching, to apprehend him. Some of his hearers, willing to have secured his liberty till the next Lord's day, when it was judged the other Non-conformist ministers would be apprehended, understanding his danger shut the doors of the meeting, about which the officers and a great multitude assemble. The disturbance through noise and knocking being so great that he could not proceed, he was forced to desist, and upon the persuasion of ——— at another door escaped into a house adjoining to the Meeting place. After they had very rudely dispersed the assembly, taking as many names as they could, and still continuing their cry after the minister, a boy that saw him going into the said house, being an apprentice to a singing man of the College, betrayed him into their hands; for which the Judas received from the reverend Father a sixpenny reward. He was no sooner found than a great acclamation arose, and he was presently carried to the Mayor's. After he came there he was baited by the clergy for some hours, exposed to the utmost extravagance and rage from the Bishop and stigmatized as seditious, villain, factious fellow, sirrah—that he deserved to stretch a halter. After having modestly rebuked the Bishop for his unbridled passion, as utterly unbecoming a gospel Bishop, he replied to the names by which he was addressed: 'Sir, "Master" is my title by the law of the land, for I am a Master of Arts of the University of Oxford'. After a long argument it was concluded he must go away to gaol, as being found in a Corporation after a former conviction, according to the Oxford Act, unless he would take the Corporation oath. Refusing this, his mittimus was made....

"He was brought to Newgate that night, and remained there in perfect health for the space of fourteen days, as many can testify, and therefore did not complain within three days after his commitment, as in the keeper's affidavit, for he was committed on the 10th February, and on the 25th grew into some indisposition of body, which bore up under that day and the next. At night, finding himself grow worse, he sent for Dr. Chauncey, his usual physician, who at once judged his case would prove serious, and therefore endeavoured immediately to procure his removal into some convenient chamber.... The Sheriff was inclined thereto, but signified how fearful he was of incurring prejudice, especially from the Bishop.... However, that the Bishop might not escape scot-free in that matter, Sir John Knight was pleased the next day to go to him himself about Mr. Thompson's removal, to whom he answered, as one of the Sheriffs reported, that 'Mr. Thompson was com-

mitted by the law to the common gaol for six months, and that there he should abide, and in case the Sheriffs should attempt his release they should answer for it at the severity of the law.... Notwithstanding all the means that could be used, his fever grew upon him daily till the 4th of March, when, about midnight he died.'"<sup>8</sup>

From October 1676 until his death on 9th November 1680, the church came under the pastoral charge of Benjamin Wey, an ejected minister from Dorchester. Descended from a Bridport family, educated at Oriel College, Oxford, he first held a living in Barking, Essex, and in 1660 had moved to Dorchester.<sup>9</sup> From 1680 the church was pastorless and in a very low state until Isaac Noble became minister in 1689. During his eighteen year ministry the congregation grew and for a time George Fownes, Jnr., the son of the Broadmead minister, was his co-pastor.<sup>10</sup>

#### (d) *The Presbyterians*

Presbyterianism within Bristol in the seventeenth century is confined to one congregation which first clearly emerges in 1672, when a licence was granted to John Weeks, as a "presbyterian teacher" in the house of John Lloyd on James's Back, Bristol. Terrill describes the presbyterian situation prior to 1670 as involving "many hundreds of people, including members and hearers, and that they had public places, whereto the people did resort, as common as the public places called churches". This assessment is authenticated by an examination of the conventicles licensed in 1672. Within the Bath and Wells diocese there were 61 Presbyterian groups with an acknowledged membership of over 8,000 people. Few of the churches were served by a single minister, and most were linked with centres like Taunton, Crewkerne, and Chard. The 61 congregations licensed 138 houses in 84 localities in Somerset.<sup>11</sup> John Weeks served many of these areas as well as Bristol. He is reported as preaching as far south-east as North Cheriton, at North Cadbury, and at Dunkerton in the vicinity of Bath. He was also reported as active at Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire, and at Warminster; as well as at Hornington, which is not far from the Dorset border.<sup>12</sup>

Weeks, and members of his congregation, were imprisoned on several occasions for preaching. In 1675 he was associated with

<sup>8</sup> M. Caston, *Independency in Bristol*, 1860, pp. 46-52.

<sup>9</sup> *Records*, pp. 187, 190, 221, 247; *OR*, op. cit., pp. 329, 330, 798.

<sup>10</sup> Caston, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, Vols. X, No. 3; XI, Nos. 2 and 4 (May 1954).

<sup>12</sup> *OR*, op. cit., pp. 646-647.



Hardcastle when in March they were removed by a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to London. Their case was tried there, but Weeks was not successful in his appeal and had to serve his six month sentence. In 1682 the meeting house was completely gutted by Hellier and an apprentice mob, and the congregation resorted to fields and barns until 1686 when they took possession of an old theatre which was situated in Bath Street.

In 1694 Edmund Calamy, Snr., was appointed assistant to Weeks for a while, then Joseph Kentish, a fellow student of Calamy, was appointed and took sole charge of the church when Weeks died in 1698.<sup>13</sup>

#### (e) *The Quakers*

Bristol Quakerism had its origin in the enthusiasm of Dennis Hollister, a Bristol grocer, and more particularly in the visit during June 1654 of John Audland and Thomas Airey. Their visit heralded a fortnight of revival type meetings which were held in Broadmead, at the Fort, Red Lodge, and a field in Earlsmead. Within three weeks a small meeting had been formed which included some of the city's influential citizens and garrison officers like Edward Pyott and Captain Beal.<sup>14</sup>

The effect of Quakerism was to produce a strong reaction not only from the civil authorities, but also from all the other religious sects in the city. In fact Quakerism in the period prior to the Restoration persecuted the existing sects at almost every opportunity.

On December 10th 1654 Ralph Farmer, the minister at St. Nicholas was interrupted by Elizabeth Marshall, between the sermon and the eucharist, when she was quickly bundled into the street. The next Sunday she was at the "steeple house called the College" and rebuked the incumbent John Knowles. She was arrested for breach of the peace and the magistrate sent her to Newgate prison.

The deputy Mayor, Richard Vickris, attempted to arrest Fox, Audland, Camm, Howgill, Burrough and Nayler in January 1655, but it only caused further riots. In a deposition made by George Cowlshay, ironmonger, on January 20th 1655 a link was avowed between the Franciscans and the Quakers which is repeated by Terrill and obviously gained credence among the authorities because a warrant for the arrest of the above named six Friends was issued on the basis that they were suspected of being papists.

<sup>13</sup> Caston, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

<sup>14</sup> This section is based on R. S. Mortimer's *Bristol Quakerism*, an unpublished MA dissertation for Bristol University.

In the Spring of 1655 there were at least two cases of "going for a sign" which caused considerable ferment. Thomas Murford appeared at a meeting in Redcliffe Street wearing a hair coat, and giving out that he was obeying a command to mourn over Bristol in sackcloth and ashes. He was stripped of his hair coat and turned out of the city at Temple Gate. Returning immediately, he was put in Newgate for a week. Sarah Goldsmith entered the city on May 3rd 1655 in just a sackcloth coat. At first unmolested, there was a mid-morning tumult at the High Cross which ended with her committal to the Bridewell for several days.

The Quakers were a great trial to Thomas Ewins, and Dennis Hollister was responsible for about twenty members of Broadmead joining the Quakers during the mid 1650's. The meetings for worship were frequently interrupted by Quakers "going for a sign" to Broadmead, and Ewins at least on one occasion spoke out against their continual interference.

Varous other persecutions took place, and in November 1655 George Bishop, Thomas Goldney, Edward Pyott and Dennis Hollister signed a letter to John Gonning, the ex-Mayor, and other civic leaders complaining of injustice to Friends. In December 1655, this letter together with an account of the sufferings of Friends, was published under the title, *The Cry of Blood*.

The year 1656 was noteworthy for the extravagances of James Nayler. Probably tired and overworked by his ministry in London, Nayler fell under the influence of certain ill-balanced women who felt themselves justified in giving Nayler more than mortal honour. This situation caused a division amongst London Friends, and Nayler went to Launceston, where Fox was then in prison, to get a ruling from him. On October 23rd, having failed to get a settlement with Fox, Nayler returned to Bristol and rode into the city with his women marching beside him in a parody of Jesus entering Jerusalem. The women were singing: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth." Bristol Friends disowned Nayler, but pamphleteers were soon at work bringing disgrace upon the whole movement.

Nayler was brought before the Bristol magistrates and quickly passed to London for trial by Parliament. He was convicted of a horrid blasphemy, and missed the death penalty by only one vote. He was pilloried, whipped, branded and his tongue bored through at London. He was taken to Bristol, seated upon a horse backwards, which was then walked through the town while he was soundly whipped. He then returned to London, and was imprisoned till 1659. After this, less is heard of disturbing ministers and "going for a sign" and the first step had been taken on the road to Quietism.

Not a great deal is known about the Quakers during 1657 to 1661, but during the autumn of 1660 Mr. Richard Ellsworth was busily engaged in making all those of 16 years of age swear the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. In Bristol a group of 65 Friends

were arrested while at a prayer meeting in Dennis Hollister's house and were taken to Newgate. Their number was increased to 190 by captures in Temple Street and other places in the city. Because they refused to be sworn, on religious grounds, the authorities feared they were Fifth Monarchy supporters. Eventually they were liberated, in common with their co-religionists everywhere, through the unaccountable influence exercised over the King by a Friend, Margaret Fell, the widow of a judge and afterwards the wife of George Fox. With the passing of Uniformity Act in 1662, persecution began again although George Fox, who was in Bristol at this time, escaped capture. In this year, the inquest into the State of the Corporations resulted in the removal of John Haggett, a man of Quaker sympathies, from the stewardship of the Tolzey court.

At the Restoration, the authorities civil and ecclesiastical turned upon all dissenting groups and the Quakers suffered as much as any other group, and found themselves side by side with other dissenters in the Bristol prisons. During John Knight's mayoralty in 1663-1664 a systematic persecution of all dissenters, including Friends, began. Many, including Friends, came under sentence of deportation but the crews of the ships refused to take them. John Latimer records that among "the Colonial State papers is a singular document, dated January 7th 1665 (the new year then began in March), entitled a 'certificate', signed by eight of the crew of the ship *Mary Fortune*, of Bristol. It states that in December three Quakers were brought to their ship for transportation, but that the writers durst not carry away innocent persons, and were persuaded the King did not wish to make void the Act that Englishmen should not be carried abroad without their own consent. Moreover, there was a law in Barbados forbidding persons to be brought there against their wills, and requiring them to be carried home again".<sup>15</sup>

On one occasion 160 were fined as they left an afternoon meeting the Mayor and two aldermen having caused an "O Yea" to be called, and the court set up at the door of the meeting. In 1679 Thomas Earle, Richard Lane, and John Knight instigated a severe persecution. Mortimer writes: "The account of the persecution is given in contemporary pamphlets and in Besse's *Collection*, but the accounts printed by Friends at the time do not cover the whole story, many more records of riots and unlawful assemblies in James' Parish and Temple Street appear in Sessions Books and the fines and imprisonments which they brought in their wake, and all show the lengths to which embittered authorities were willing to go in a struggle for religious unity." During this period over 190 Friends were in prison, but their children kept the meeting going, even though they were often beaten and put in the stocks for it. On one occasion they were actually put in the Bridewell!

<sup>15</sup> Latimer, op. cit., p. 335.

Contact between Broadmead and the Quakers continued in this period. From 1662 until 1671 the Friends used a room in Broadmead for their meetings, which the Baptists bought from them in 1671 and upon which they erected the first Broadmead chapel, when the Quakers moved to their new site on the remains of the old Dominican Friary. In 1669 John Foster and his wife were disowned for attending the Baptist meeting, and in 1672 two members of Broadmead were sent to admonish Sister Evans, "for hearing the Quakers."

This review of the period which the *Records* cover reveals an extremely complex, fluid, situation among the various dissenting groups in Bristol. The Presbyterians and Quakers were numerically much stronger than Baptists and probably had a more profound impact on the city than Broadmead. It is important to note that Terrill's account must be supplemented and at times modified by other contemporary material. The vital point is to recognise that the interpretation of the history of Bristol dissent began with the first chronicler of that history, Edward Terrill.

Συγγραφὴ Ἐκκλησίας.

THE RECORDS

OF

A CHURCH OF CHRIST.

אָבן קעגן

# THE RECORDS

## OF

### A CHURCH OF CHRIST.

---

ברשית וקהל אלהים

Deus Ecclesiae Principio in.

1 Chron.  
iv. 10, part  
from oh, to  
ye word Evil  
with y<sup>e</sup> last  
word here  
LEACHA-  
RITHI  
added signify-  
ing τέλος,  
Finis.

אם ברך תברכני לאליה ותריבית את נבולי ותיהח  
ידך עמי ועשית מרעה לאחרייתי

Ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐρωτῶ· οὐ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἐρωτῶ, ἀλλὰ  
περὶ ὧν δέδωκάς μοι, ὅτι σοί εἰσι. Ἁγιάσον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ  
ἀληθείᾳ σου· ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς, ἀληθεία ἐστι. (Κεφ. 17  
Ἰωαν. 9. 17.)

Heb. x. 23,  
and part of  
Mathew  
xxviii. 20,  
from And  
lo—

Κατέχωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀκλιῶ (πιστὸς  
γὰρ ὁ ἐπαγγελιάμενος) ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς  
ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἵωνος. Ἀμήν.

*Sicut igitur accepistis Christum Jesum Dominum ita  
in eo ambulare: qui dilexit nos; et lavit nos a  
peccatis nostris Per sanguinem suum. Et  
qui fecit nos Reges et Sacerdotes Deo  
et Patri suo: ei fit gloria et  
robur in secula seculorum.*

AMEN.

GOD who at sundry times, and divers manners, spake in time past unto y<sup>e</sup> fathers by y<sup>e</sup> Prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Spirit, by his Word, and Providences, even by his Sonn; whom he hath appointed heir of all things, By whom also he made y<sup>e</sup> World. This God (we say), who worketh all things after y<sup>e</sup> Counsell of his owne will, having according to his determinate purpose suffered his Church to be carried into y<sup>e</sup> wilderness of Antichristian darknesse, as he signified and foretold by his servant y<sup>e</sup> apostle John, Rev. xii. 6, and that she should be there, and Prophecy in Sackcloth 1260 years;—towards y<sup>e</sup> Expiration of those years it seemed good to our gracious God and father, through Jesus Christ, to send more of his holy Spirit into y<sup>e</sup> hearts of y<sup>e</sup> children of men; that they began more openly and professedly to seeke after y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and to shake off Popish Doctrines, in King Henry y<sup>e</sup> Eighth's dayes, and *Reformation of Worship* in y<sup>e</sup> days of King Edward y<sup>e</sup> Sixth, of Blessed Memory. Which was darkened againe in y<sup>e</sup> Reigne of Queen Mary, who burned those that she and her Prelates knew left off Popery; under whom many that kept faithful to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, according to their light received, suffered *Martyrdome* through fire. But by y<sup>e</sup> grace of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, after Christ in these his Martyrs was againe soe openly and grossly Crucified, it pleased our heavenly Father that *Reformation* in Worship was againe carryed on in y<sup>e</sup> reign of Queen Elizabeth, of happy remembrance, and y<sup>e</sup> Pope wholly cast out, as having noe Dominion nor Superiority in England; soe that y<sup>e</sup> power of Rome died, and y<sup>e</sup> Papal worship thereof languished.

Wherefore in y<sup>e</sup> reign of King James, y<sup>e</sup> Popish worship struggling for life, it thought to revive againe by Treasons and Politick Contrivances. But God, of his Infinite grace, Continued y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of Reformation; that a people were raised up, (in y<sup>e</sup> Days of King

Charles y<sup>e</sup> First,) to cast off y<sup>e</sup> Scrapes of Church Government by y<sup>e</sup> Papall *Hierarchy*, namely, of Lordly Bishops; because that it was directly opposite to y<sup>e</sup> holy Scripture, and Rule of true Worship. For they did Lord it over God's Heritage, and thereby did manifest themselves to be as y<sup>e</sup> skirts of y<sup>e</sup> whore of Romeish Babilon; by reason they looked not after y<sup>e</sup> Pure and Spirituall Worship of God, but rested in y<sup>e</sup> Reliques of Antichristian forms of Worship, by unscripturall Officers, called, (after Humane inventions,) Chancellors, vice-Chancellors, Deans, Archdeacons, Prebends, Queristers,<sup>1</sup> Registers, Proctors, Apparitors, &c., not like y<sup>e</sup> worship Instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ recorded in Scripture. Haveing scarcely y<sup>e</sup> form of Godlinesse, and wholly denyed y<sup>e</sup> power thereof, from such we are commanded to turne away. Under whom y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of God in his People groaned, and were in paine to be delivered, earnestly waiting for y<sup>e</sup> manifestations of y<sup>e</sup> sonns of God; but instead of further Reformation, nothing but Prophanation of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Day, and a Booke of Sports sett forth and allowed<sup>2</sup> against which y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of God in many of his people testified.

Notwithstanding, they Persisted with Insultations over y<sup>e</sup> appearance of God in any that would not run with them to y<sup>e</sup> same Excesse of Riott, Superstition, and Willworship; continually putting yokes upon y<sup>e</sup> necks of y<sup>e</sup> disciples, which they nor their Spirituall fathers were not able to bear; insomuch that it made those that were godly to cry mightily unto God, under those heavy Pressures and burdens in their consciences, and against those Egyptian taske-masters that began to make their burdens heavier; Citeing to their Spirituall Courts (so called) any that they knew did refraine out of Conscience from their ceremonies, and not come to their inventions in worship, as Cringing at y<sup>e</sup> Altar, bowing at y<sup>e</sup> name of Jesus, Imposing y<sup>e</sup> crosse, and divers other innovations which came in againe apace, (after y<sup>e</sup> Began Reformation, and y<sup>e</sup> carrying of it on, as aforesaid.) Soe that those whose hearts God had touched would gett together and praye, repeate their sermon-notes, and carefully upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day would sanctify y<sup>e</sup> Christian Sabbath, and other such Acts of liveing Piety, as when they could hear of any minister that did savour of God, or of y<sup>e</sup> power of godlinesse, they would flock to him as Doves to y<sup>e</sup> windows; *like babes new borne (from above) desireing after y<sup>e</sup> pure Sincere milke of y<sup>e</sup> word, that they might grow thereby.* For

<sup>1</sup> Querristers, i.e., Choristers.

<sup>2</sup> Book of Sports. Issued first by James I in 1617 for the use of Lancashire magistrates, it defined the recreations which were permissible on Sundays. In 1618 the declaration was extended to the whole country, and ministers were required to read it from their pulpits. It was re-issued by Charles I in 1633, and all clergy who refused to read it were deprived of their livings. The measure roused considerable opposition from Puritans with a strong sense of the Sabbath, and in 1643 the book was burned publicly with the consent of Parliament.



which they were branded with y<sup>e</sup> name of *Puritans*;<sup>3</sup> it being an old trick of y<sup>e</sup> Devill, in his instruments, to cast some reproachfull name or other upon y<sup>e</sup> servants of y<sup>e</sup> Lord in all ages: Sathan envying y<sup>e</sup> purity of that Spirit of holinesse that God poured out upon y<sup>e</sup> reformers of religion, in this Nation of England, at that time. Which name of Puritans was y<sup>e</sup> common tearme of Derision of y<sup>e</sup> Professors in England, from about y<sup>e</sup> year of our Lord 1600, to y<sup>e</sup> year 1640, and after; as those that were reformers before were Stigmatized with y<sup>e</sup> name of Brownist.<sup>4</sup> And in other parts of Europe, those that God had Stirred up that to cast off Popish Doctrines and Worship, and that y<sup>e</sup> Lord inlightened in y<sup>e</sup> true and saveing Doctrine of Justification by free Grace, were called Waldenses.<sup>5</sup> Lutherins, Calvinists, &c. And now, at this time, here in England, they were called Puritans. And indeed y<sup>e</sup> Lord did pour forth of y<sup>e</sup> Purity of his Spirit into y<sup>e</sup> hearts of many, that made them to walke very Holy, harmless, and undefiled in their day.

And there were raised up divers holy and Powerfull ministers and Preachers, in and about that time, in this nation; whereof in these parts was one Mr. Wroth, in Monmouthshire (not farr from this City of Bristoll], who for y<sup>e</sup> Powerfullnesse and efficaciousnesse of his Preaching, with an Exemplary holinesse of his

<sup>3</sup> Puritans. These were the more extreme English Protestants who were dissatisfied with the Elizabethan Settlement of religion. They sought a more Calvinistic pattern for Anglicanism. They were a powerful minority group in the 17th century, specially among the mercantile classes. They required Scriptural authority for all parts of public worship; they placed a great emphasis upon preaching, Sabbatarianism, government of the church by presbyters instead of bishops, and the use of the altar as a "table" for the observance of the Lord's Supper. They were Calvinist in theology, and as such, the principal opponents of Archbishop Laud's ecclesiastical policies. The term was widely used in the 17th century, often as a term of abuse, and passed out of usage about 1660.

<sup>4</sup> Brownist. Robert Browne (1550-1633) was a Puritan separatist, who, after training at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, originated the first Independent congregation in Norwich. After imprisonment for this he took his congregation from Norwich to Holland. He published several works, of which *A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any* (1582) was typical. Browne was a quarrelsome person, he fell out with his congregation, and by 1586 he had submitted to the Church of England and became a headmaster of a school in Southwark. In 1591 he became rector of Achurch, Northants, and held the benefice there until he died in 1591. Though of unstable mind Browne influenced the beginnings of Congregationalism so much that their early members were often called "Brownists".

<sup>5</sup> Waldenses. A small Christian community originating in the work of Peter Waldo of Lyons (d. 1217) among the "poor men of Lyons". Terrill accepts the contemporary view that this group preserved a pure, uncorrupted form of Christianity which originated from Paul's visit to Spain in the first Christian century. Waldo was a wealthy merchant who took Christ at his word and gave his fortune to the poor. He soon had a following, and eventually they were functioning outside the Roman Catholic Church. They were closely linked with the Hussites in Bohemia, experienced persecution, and still survive to this day in Piedmont.

life, was Called y<sup>e</sup> *Apostle of Wales*; for y<sup>e</sup> Papist and all sortes almost honoured him for a holy man. And by his Ministry it pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord to Convert many, that they left their Sinfull courses in y<sup>e</sup> World; after which he caused them to separate from y<sup>e</sup> Worship of y<sup>e</sup> World, and gathered them into Gospell Order of Church government; which light of theirs began to shine very much in this parte of y<sup>e</sup> land.

*About y<sup>e</sup> same time God raised up, in this Citty of Bristoll, in Philip's parish, one Mr. Yeamans*, a zealous preacher, that, although in some things, he, keeping in his place, did observe According to y<sup>e</sup> time that then was, yet would not suffer his hearers to use any blind devotion, as bowing at y<sup>e</sup> name of Jesus, and ignorant or rather customary walking and profaneing y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath. To Whom y<sup>e</sup> awakened soules and honest minded people did flock very much to hear him, and sate under his light near 20 years, keeping many fast days together in private houses, namely, at one William Listun's house, a glover, near Lawford's gate, and at one Richard Langford's house, a house-carpenter in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, and sometimes at other places. But at those two places they mett mostly; where they did Cry day and night to y<sup>e</sup> Lord to plucke downe y<sup>e</sup> Lordly Prelates of y<sup>e</sup> time, and y<sup>e</sup> Superstitions thereof; which prayers y<sup>e</sup> Lord heard and graciously Answered in his time; although first he suffered them to pass through sore afflictions, and they were Scattered up and downe, that is most of them. Especially, y<sup>e</sup> chieftest of y<sup>e</sup> Professors were driven out of y<sup>e</sup> Citty from their houses and habitations, bringing them, as it were, into a wilderness state, passing through a Red Sea of Blood by y<sup>e</sup> wars.

But before that, those two men at whose houses they mett, with Mr. Yeamans aforesaid, and Mr. Anthony Kelly, a grocer, in High-street, Mr. Robert Haynes, Writeing-Schoolmaster, in Corn-street, and Richard Moone, a Farrier in Wine-street, and one Goodman Cole, a Victualler, or butcher, at Lawford's gate; which men, as some of y<sup>e</sup> chief Resolved and watchful professors in those dayes, they did use, as aforesaid (with many others), to keep dayes of fasting and prayer together, during Mr. Yeamans's time. But it pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord to gather one of these ripe professors, namely, Mr. Kelly, to himself, by death. He was *one that feared y<sup>e</sup> Lord above many*, Neh. vii. 2; which words were y<sup>e</sup> text from whence Mr. Yeamans preached his funerall sermon. And likewise y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid Pious and laborious Minister, Mr. Yeamans, deceased about two years after.

Then y<sup>e</sup> good people were at a great losse, and, like sheep without a shepherd, were scattered, and knew not where to hear. But sometimes Mr. Wroth, before mentioned, would come over, who lodged, when in Bristoll, at William Listun's aforesaid; and sometimes others of y<sup>e</sup> reforming ministers of South Wales, as Mr. Symons, Mr. Cradock, Mr. Henry Walter, Mr. Moston, and others, would come. But when they came to Towne y<sup>e</sup> Professors would

run after them as hungry souls for food, by reason y<sup>e</sup> Preachers that were in y<sup>e</sup> Citty, those that y<sup>e</sup> good people looked upon as y<sup>e</sup> best, and for want of Better would go and hear them, because that in some things they seemed religious in those days, yet many times a great deale of bitternesse came from them against y<sup>e</sup> New England ministers, and those that went thither. For about that time, abundance of y<sup>e</sup> Godly Transported themselves into that part of America, for Conscience' sake, to enjoy y<sup>e</sup> Gospell of our Lord Jesus without y<sup>e</sup> imposition of men; and those that remained here, groaning under y<sup>e</sup> same Burdens, could not bear to hear their brethren spoken against.

About that time Mr. Hazzard, y<sup>e</sup> minister, being come to y<sup>e</sup> Citty, a young preacher that minded good things, and could not close with y<sup>e</sup> grossnesse of those times, did some time preach at Nicolas, y<sup>e</sup> publick place, to whom y<sup>e</sup> good people flocked. But he, savouring of a Puritanicall spirit, preaching against y<sup>e</sup> Debauchery of y<sup>e</sup> people and priests, was worked out from thence, after which he preached some time as a Lecturer at Redclif publike place, till a Minister was provided by those that had y<sup>e</sup> Donation.

Now at this, Mr. Kelly being some years deceased, his Widdow persevered in godlinesse; and it might be said of her as of Ruth, iii. 11. (*all the Citty did know her to be a vertuous woman*). She was like a hee-goat before y<sup>e</sup> flock; for in those dayes Mrs. Kelly was very famous for Piety and reformation, well knowne to all, bearing a liveing testimony against y<sup>e</sup> Superstitions and traditions of those dayes, and she would not observe their invented times and feasts, called Holy days. Att which time she kept a Grocer's shop in High-street, between y<sup>e</sup> Guilders Inn and y<sup>e</sup> High Crosse, where she would keep open her shop on y<sup>e</sup> time they called Christmas day, and sit sewing in her shop, as a witnesse for God in y<sup>e</sup> midst of y<sup>e</sup> Citty, in y<sup>e</sup> face of y<sup>e</sup> Sun, and in y<sup>e</sup> sight of all men; even in those very dayes of Darknesse, when, as it were, all sortes of People had a reverence of that particular day above all others. And as y<sup>e</sup> Apostle saith, 1 Cor. viii. 7, *There was not in every man that knowledge; for some, with conscience of the Idoll unto this hour eat it as things offered unto an Idoll, and their Conscience being weak is defiled*. But this gracious Woman (afterwards called Mrs. Hazzard), like a *Deborah* she arose, with strength of holy Resolution in her soul from God, even a Mother in Israell. And soe she proved, because she was y<sup>e</sup> first woman in this Citty of Bristoll that practized that truth of y<sup>e</sup> Lord (which was then hated and Odious), namely, *Separation*.

Now y<sup>e</sup> way that y<sup>e</sup> Lord tooke to bring her, with some others of y<sup>e</sup> Professors in this Citty, to Separate from y<sup>e</sup> World, was this. After they had (as before rehearsed), been awakened, and mett first together to Repeat sermon-notes, then they kept many dayes of Prayer together, as a company of Good people, Sensible of y<sup>e</sup> Sins and Snares of their day. In doing of which duties they began

to be more humble and Spirituall, and grow more Resolved for God, Heaven, and Eternall happinesse, and for y<sup>e</sup> Worship of God according to Holy Scriptures. Soe that when they had been conversant in these duties and pious Acts of Hearing y<sup>e</sup> best men, Repeating their notes to one another, whetting it on their hearts, and praying it over, fasting and praying together frequently, and had thus continued in soe doing for about y<sup>e</sup> space of 20 years, and beginning to grow somewhat numerous in that worke, *they had strength to Begin to goe farther*, for y<sup>e</sup> path of those truths of building up one another was well beaten. Though they had not a little reproach cast on them for their soe meeting; because y<sup>e</sup> World and wicked men vilified them, saying, they mett together in y<sup>e</sup> night to be uncleane, (but y<sup>e</sup> Lord knew their innocency), and would further deride them, as that they had women Preachers among them, because there were many good women, (that frequented their Assembling,) that, when they should upon occasion be speaking with y<sup>e</sup> world about y<sup>e</sup> things thereof, in their buying or selling, they woulde speake very Heavenly. They would brand y<sup>e</sup> good people with such Odiums, and y<sup>e</sup> like.

Now these meetings of prayer, &c., as aforesaid, being soe frequent, and many resorting unto it, they became such a light, as a Citty upon a Hill that could not be hid, especially from y<sup>e</sup> Bishops, who, instead of being promoters and encouragers in such Acts of Piety, they were y<sup>e</sup> obstructers, and could not bear it, for they endeavoured to suppress them. And God made his People not to bear them, nor their wayes of worship; for, y<sup>e</sup> Professors meeting one day in a house in High-street, y<sup>e</sup> house was assaulted by y<sup>e</sup> rude multitude and seamen, soe that they broake all y<sup>e</sup> windows, because they heard there was a Conventicle of Puritans; which to them was a very strange and unheard of thing for People to meet in a Church with a Chimny in it, as they tearmed it.

When y<sup>e</sup> uproar was over, some of y<sup>e</sup> good people complained to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor of y<sup>e</sup> Citty that then was, for redresse upon some that were chief; but instead of Justice being done, he imprisoned severall of y<sup>e</sup> godly that mett. Whereupon some of them, being Publique, Active, spirited men, drew up a Petition to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament that then sate against y<sup>e</sup> Mayor of y<sup>e</sup> Citty for suffering them to be abused, and not only soe but imprisoning them when they complained. Soe that William Listun before-mentioned, (at whose house they commonly mett), went to London, delivered y<sup>e</sup> said Petition to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament, who then favoured y<sup>e</sup> Righteous cause of God's people in general, and well resented their case in Bristoll, which soe Startled y<sup>e</sup> Mayor of y<sup>e</sup> Citty, that it abated y<sup>e</sup> execution of y<sup>e</sup> fury of his Spirit. Soe that when y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Listun came home from London,<sup>6</sup> it was noised about y<sup>e</sup> Citty that he would

<sup>6</sup> London. The references to London in the *Records* (see Index) reveals a significant relationship between open communion Baptists in London and Bristol. The Broadmead congregation spent 1643-45 in Jessey's London

be imprisoned as others had been, and more severely dealt with; wherefore he was perswaded not to be seen near y<sup>e</sup> Tolzey.<sup>7</sup> But y<sup>e</sup> next day he went and appeared at y<sup>e</sup> high-Cross, standing in his intimate acquaintance's shop, that faced y<sup>e</sup> Tolzey, at one Mr. Haynes's, a glover; where standing, a serjeant was sent, for him to come before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who, when he came, instead of sending him to prison, brought him home to his house, and entertained him very Civilly, asking him what he did at London; who told he went thither to petition y<sup>e</sup> Parliament against his worship. The Mayor said he should first have come to him. He answered that they had by others made their complaint to him, but instead of doing them justice they were imprisoned. Yet, notwithstanding that his bould appearing, and telling him that he was y<sup>e</sup> Person that Petitioned, he was discharged without further trouble.

Thus you may see how y<sup>e</sup> Lord stood by them, and made them stronger and stronger to goe forward in Reformation, as y<sup>e</sup> Prelates went forward in their innovations and Superstitions. For about that time y<sup>e</sup> parsons of y<sup>e</sup> parishes were commanded that their Communicants should kneel at y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament. Y<sup>e</sup> good people, especially some of y<sup>e</sup> chief, and those afore-mentioned, could not bear it, nor would not kneel, but sitt; which would not be borne by y<sup>e</sup> parsons. Then they would not come at all to their Sacraments, but at such times would gett out of Towne, or meet together if they could gett any godly minister to preach to them, and some would rent houses in other Parishes where they could hear of a good man or Towards Cathay, out of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Dyoces, for their respective families to spend y<sup>e</sup> Lotd's day, going thither over night on y<sup>e</sup> last day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke, and y<sup>e</sup> second day returne againe to their shops and places where they kept their trades and vocations all y<sup>e</sup> weeke. Thus they shifted, up and downe for some years, when y<sup>e</sup> Clergy began to be high.

About and in this time, y<sup>e</sup> good people perswaded Mrs. Hazzard, Kelly that then was, to be marryed to Mr. Hazzard, y<sup>e</sup> minister aforesaid; who at his, and y<sup>e</sup> importunity of y<sup>e</sup> good people, she

Baptist Church, and Ewins and Hardcastle both came from the London church. There were also Particular Baptist links between London and Bristol, see B. R. White, *JEH*, XVII, pp. 209-226; and the relationships between Particular Baptists in the Western Association have been outlined by G. F. Nuttall, *JEH*, XI, pp. 213-218. One factor which influenced this close connection was the attraction provided by Bristol Fairs to London merchants, and the common trading interests of the London and Bristol merchants.

<sup>7</sup> Tolzey. There were two buildings known as the Tolzey. One was a court of justice erected in 1550. The other, which is referred to here, was a covered way used by merchants for the convenience of signing documents and settling accounts. It was built in 1641-5 on that part of Corn Street which adjoined All Saints Church. It contained several brazen-headed pillars like those which stand before the present Bristol Exchange. The merchants' Tolzey was pulled down in 1782. (*Latimer*, pp. 55-6, 64)

was married. Who after some time being troubled by y<sup>e</sup> parson of y<sup>e</sup> parish where they lived in High-street, because Mrs. Hazzard would not conforme, and had openly in y<sup>e</sup> presence of y<sup>e</sup> congregation gone forth in y<sup>e</sup> midst of his sermon, when she heard him begin to bring in another innovation,—viz., he began to assert that Pictures and images might be used; when she heard that, away she went forth before them all, and said she would hear him noe more, nor never did to this day;—for that, together with not kneeling as aforesaid, trouble came on, and they knew noe way to Escape y<sup>e</sup> utmost rigour of his Envy, because their Spirituall Courts were soe busy. Whereupon she thought of takeing a house in Redclif-street for their family to spend y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day that they might be out of y<sup>e</sup> Parish, as before she had done in Phillip's parish that they might have y<sup>e</sup> benefitt of hearing Mr. Yeamans, in her former husband's time and his. And as Mr. Hazzard and his wife were stept out of doores into y<sup>e</sup> street to goe to take a house, behould, Providentially, y<sup>e</sup> Lord sent a woman, that came to them in y<sup>e</sup> street, and tould them y<sup>e</sup> Minister of T'Ewin's parish was deceased, and that y<sup>e</sup> people of y<sup>e</sup> parish had chosen him to be their minister. Soe in some short time he was settled there.

Thus God provided them y<sup>e</sup> parsonage of T'Ewins, with y<sup>e</sup> house for y<sup>e</sup> minister, and a benefitt besides; which she looked upon as an Eminent answer of Prayer, haveing often prayed that God would finde out some way to deliver them, and she had many times used this expression, *Lord, hast thou never a little Corner to hide us from y<sup>e</sup> rage of man?* And a little house it was that God gave them, when, by that providence, they were succoured themselves, and many others alsoe. For they using it only Lord's dayes, they entertained sometimes 2 or 3 families together at one time, that came to y<sup>e</sup> Citty, bound for New England; where they abode untill they were ready, or if they waited for a winde. Soe y<sup>e</sup> Lord, by them, made their house as an hospitall for his people in their Perigrination. And when it was empty of them, att other times, severall good women would come out of other Parishes, and be brought to bed there at their time of lyeing-in, to be in Mr. Hazzard's parish, to avoid the ceremonies of their Churching, y<sup>e</sup> Crosse, and other impositions that most of y<sup>e</sup> Parsons of other parishes did burden them withall, that were delivered within their precincts. Thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord went before his people by his Providences, which things set them at a further distance from y<sup>e</sup> formes of y<sup>e</sup> World's worship; for y<sup>e</sup> Consciences of y<sup>e</sup> good people (were heavy-laden, having, as aforesaid, soe long sate under those burthens of men's inventions in worship,) began to be very weary.

Then it pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord to stirr up some few of y<sup>e</sup> professors of this Citty, to begin to lead y<sup>e</sup> way out of Babilon, (y<sup>e</sup> Corrupt Worship, and to Separate from them, and not as much as come near any of their Superstitions): viz., five persons began to goe

further, and scrupled to hear Common prayer; even four men and one woman, Namely, one Goodman Atkins, a countryman of Stapleton, two miles from Bristoll, alsoe one Goodman Cole, a Butcher, without Lawford's Gate, with one Richard Moone, a Farrier, in Wine-street, and one Mr. Bacon, a young minister, together with Mrs. Hazzard aforesaid. These persons went out from hearing Common Prayer, not knowing whither they went; but at y<sup>e</sup> Command of God, 2 Cor. vi. 17, they went out, as it is said of Abraham, Heb. xi. 8.

But before Mrs. Hazzard could gett out from that of hearing Common prayer, she had a very sore Conflict in her spirit, because her Husband did read that, according to y<sup>e</sup> necessity of his place, though he would not administer y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament to all y<sup>e</sup> parish, and many other things in Conscience could not doe. For her Temptation lay here, that she must hear her husband; for it would be of ill report if she should forbear, and a bad Example unto others if she did refrain and not goe. But at last, one Lord's day, in y<sup>e</sup> morning, it was very much on her spirit not to goe, but Then y<sup>e</sup> Temptation aforesaid appears, and comes in, saying, she must not neglect that of being present when common prayer was read, being her husband was y<sup>e</sup> preacher; which reasoning did as it were force her to goe. (Then y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of y<sup>e</sup> Lord steps in, and stands in y<sup>e</sup> way.) As she was goeing, she had some strong doubts that made her turne back, and she returned, (being on y<sup>e</sup> staires,) into her chamber again, and opening her Bible to read, happened upon that place in Rev. xiv. 9, 10, 11, *If any man worship y<sup>e</sup> Beast and his image, and receive his marke in his forehead, or in his hand, y<sup>e</sup> same shall drink of y<sup>e</sup> wine of y<sup>e</sup> wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into y<sup>e</sup> Cup of his indignation, and he shall be tormented with brimstone and fire in y<sup>e</sup> presence of y<sup>e</sup> Holy angels, and in y<sup>e</sup> presence of y<sup>e</sup> Lamb; and y<sup>e</sup> smoke of their torment ascended up for Ever and Ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship y<sup>e</sup> beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth y<sup>e</sup> marke of his name, or print, as she said it was in her old booke; and χάραγμα may be so translated, print, or stampe.* This struck such terror into her Soule, that she dreaded to goe; and thereupon presently (without admitting or hearkening to any more Reasoning,) she Resolved in y<sup>e</sup> strength of y<sup>e</sup> Lord never to go more to hear Common prayer. Thus y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of Christ in her soule was stronger than Sathan and Antichrist: making her to fear sin, and willingly to obey y<sup>e</sup> voice of y<sup>e</sup> Lord in y<sup>e</sup> holy Scriptures.

Y<sup>e</sup> Lord having thus Convinced them of y<sup>e</sup> Dangerous state of all such that worshipped y<sup>e</sup> Beast, or his Image, or any thing that had his print,—whether publicly or plainly to be seen as in y<sup>e</sup> forehead, or that did it more secretly, receiving y<sup>e</sup> impression, though but in a hand,—that they should be y<sup>e</sup> subjects of his wrath, it did both awaken them to looke about, and scruteonously to

make search after y<sup>e</sup> Primitive Scripturall and Instituted worship of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and alsoe it did strengthen them with fear and holy trembling to take up holy Resolutions to follow y<sup>e</sup> Lord; giveing up themselves to him to walke before him in all y<sup>e</sup> dayes of their lives in his way, in Joyning together, in y<sup>e</sup> fear of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, to separate from y<sup>e</sup> worship of y<sup>e</sup> times. And thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord led them by his Spirit in a way and Path that they knew not, having called them out of darknesse into his Marvellous light by Jesus Christ our Lord.

1640. Soe that in y<sup>e</sup> year of our for ever blessed Redeemer, the Lord Jesus (1640) one thousand six hundred and forty, those five persons, namely Goodman Atkins of Stapleton, Goodman Cole a Butcher of Lawford's Gate, Richard Moone a Farrier in Wine Street, and Mr. Bacon a young Minister, with Mrs. Hazzard, at Mrs. Hazzard's house, at y<sup>e</sup> upper end of Broad Street in Bristol, *they Mett together*, and came to a holy Resolution to Separate from y<sup>e</sup> Worship of y<sup>e</sup> World and times they lived in, and that they would goe noe more to it, and with godly purpose of heart Joyned themselves together in y<sup>e</sup> Lord; and only thus Covenanting, *That they would, in y<sup>e</sup> Strength and assistance of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, come forth of y<sup>e</sup> world, and worship y<sup>e</sup> Lord more purely, persevering therein to their end.*

Thus they having engaged themselves to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and one to y<sup>e</sup> other, to walke before him according to his word, they would goe to hear common prayer noe more; but after y<sup>e</sup> common prayer was over in y<sup>e</sup> morning, when y<sup>e</sup> Psalm was singing, they would goe in to hear Mr. Hazzard preach. Thus they did on y<sup>e</sup> mornings of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, but in y<sup>e</sup> afternoones they mett by themselves, and so built up one another. Att their beginning they met usually at Mr. Hazzard's, and sometimes at Mr. Bacon's in Lewin's Mead.

Shortly after this, on a time called Easter, because Mr. Hazzard could not in Conscience give y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament to y<sup>e</sup> People of y<sup>e</sup> Parish, he went out of Towne, and tooke that season to visit his kindred at Lyme. And at that Juncture of time y<sup>e</sup> Providence of God brought to this City one Mr. Cann, a *Baptized* man; it was that Mr. Cann that made notes and References upon the Bible. He was a man very eminent in his day for Godlinesse, and for Reformation in Religion, haveing great understanding in y<sup>e</sup> way of y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

When Mrs. Hazzard heard that he was come to Towne, she went to y<sup>e</sup> Dolphin Inn, and fetched him to her house, and entertained him all y<sup>e</sup> time he staid in y<sup>e</sup> City; who helped them very much in y<sup>e</sup> Lord, he being a man Skilfull in Gospell order. Like unto Aquila, he taught them y<sup>e</sup> way of y<sup>e</sup> Lord more perfectly, and settled them in Church Order, and showed them y<sup>e</sup> Difference betwixt y<sup>e</sup> Church of Christ and Antichrist, and left with them a Printed booke treating of y<sup>e</sup> same, and divers printed papers to that



purpose. Soe that by this instrument, Mr. Cann,<sup>8</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lord did confirm and settle them; showing them how they should Joyne together, and take in members. And he Exhorted them to waite upon God together, and to Expect y<sup>e</sup> presence of God with those gifts they had, and to depart from those ministers that did not come out of Antichristian Worship. And when he had staid some time in y<sup>e</sup> Citty he departed.

And on a Lord's day following he preached at a place called Westerly, about 7 miles from this Citty; and many of y<sup>e</sup> professors from hence went thither to hear him, with Mrs. Hazzard, willing to enjoy such a light as long as they could; where he had liberty to preach in y<sup>e</sup> publique place (called a church), in y<sup>e</sup> morning, but in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon could not have entrance. Y<sup>e</sup> obstruction was by a very Godly great woman that dwelt in that place, who was somewhat severe in y<sup>e</sup> profession of what she knew, hearing that he was a *Baptized* man, by them called an *Anabaptist*,<sup>9</sup> which was to some sufficient cause of Prejudice; because y<sup>e</sup> truth of Believers' baptizme had been for a long time buried, yea, for a long time, by Popish inventions, and their sprinkleing brought in y<sup>e</sup> roome thereof.

And by reason persons in y<sup>e</sup> practice of that truth of baptism were by some rendered very obnoxious; because, about 100 years before, some beyond y<sup>e</sup> sea, in Germany, that held that truth of Believers' baptizme, did (as some say) doe some very irregular actions; of whom we can have no true Accompt what they were but by *their Enimys*; for none but such in any History have made any relation or Narrative of them. And truly, if all shall be taken for truth that y<sup>e</sup> Enemys of God's people (in their owne understanding) doe write, what will they not say of y<sup>e</sup> most pure and best reforming people, under any of y<sup>e</sup> denominations whatsoever;—witness y<sup>e</sup> many Pamphlets written by y<sup>e</sup> Adversaries, that do vilifie those friends, y<sup>e</sup> good people called the Presbyterians, and Independents;—that if there should be none else penned by y<sup>e</sup> godly, to take off those grosse Calumnies and untruths cast upon y<sup>e</sup> Profession of y<sup>e</sup> most sincere Professors now in these times, would not y<sup>e</sup> Next age be Stumbled thereby, and almost abhor Profession that Separates from y<sup>e</sup> Church of Rome, unlesse God

<sup>8</sup> Probably *A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England* (1634), or it may have been, *Syon's Prerogative Royal*, to prove that every particular congregation hath from Christ absolute and entire power to exercise in and of herself every ordinance of God, and is an independent body, not standing under any other ecclesiastical authority out of itself. (1641)

<sup>9</sup> Anabaptist. This word was a term of abuse in the 17th century and denoted a fanatical separatist. The true meaning is: to baptise again, which is descriptive of a paedobaptist understanding of believers' baptism. The name originates in the extreme left wing movements of the Reformation. See further: A. Gilmore, *Christian Baptism*, pp. 223-272. *Baptist Quarterly*, XVI, No. 7, pp. 303-312; No. 8, pp. 339-342; XVII, No. 2, pp. 53-60; XVIII, No. 1, pp. 12-25.

by his Spirit make them subject to his truth, or else they shall not enjoy Serene peace of Conscience?

But if those people in Germany did hold that truth, and many Errors with it, as *Denying Originall sinn*, and *Free-will*, as some have ground to think they did, their Errors are to be blamed and rejected, but not their Sincere profession of that truth of Believers' baptism; nor other men now, *as long as they hold, with that sound truth, all other Sound principles of Christian Religion equall with y<sup>e</sup> Godly*, called Presbyterians and Independents; which was Mr. Cann's case, and y<sup>e</sup> case now of many Thousands in England that doe not hold Communion with others, though they doe owne and practize believers' baptisme, because they hold with it Free-will and falling from grace, &c. Are all therefore to be counted *unsound and hereticall*, because some that goe under y<sup>e</sup> name, or have taken up baptism, doe hold Errors? Therefore, for y<sup>e</sup> very bare holding of Believers' baptism, and for practizing y<sup>e</sup> same, a man cannot be (*nor ought not to be accompted*) a Heretick; neither are they soe esteemed by y<sup>e</sup> Godly, wise, and Learned; because they differ only in y<sup>e</sup> subject or time; for all other sound Christians doe owne Baptisme with water to be an ordinance of Christ, and soe doe they.

But to speake after men (not to mention y<sup>e</sup> Commands in Scripture, which is fully and clear for Believers' baptism, and y<sup>e</sup> practice of Christ himselfe, his Apostles, and primitive Saints, which should be our Pattern and warrante for y<sup>e</sup> Worship of God), Dr. Ames saith, it is not *Heresie* simply to deny y<sup>e</sup> Baptisme of Children; (and he gives this reason,) because by this they overthrow not y<sup>e</sup> foundation of Faith. Thus this Learned man affirms, as you may see in his Cases of Conscience, book y<sup>e</sup> 4th, page y<sup>e</sup> 11th. In whose Cases of Conscience, further, where he Treats of Baptisme in answer to this query, Who are to be baptized? he saith, Concerning those of age there can be no question or doubt. See idem liber, page 81. This Dr. Ames, his Body of Divinity and Cases of Conscience, are received by Divines very Orthodox.

But to return to our *Narrative* of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's carrying on y<sup>e</sup> Truth of Separation. This godly, honourable woman, perceiving that Mr. Cann was a Baptist, and not in her way, but a step beyond her light, Caused y<sup>e</sup> publick place to be made fast, whereby they were prevented to Come in. Then he drew forth, with aboundance of people, into a Green thereby, and he sent for Mr. Fowler, y<sup>e</sup> Minister that lived there, to speake with him, who was a holy good man, of great worth for his Moderation, Zeale, Sincerity, and a sound preacher of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, as he approved himselfe since; who, Accordingly, came to Mr. Cann, in y<sup>e</sup> Green, where they debated y<sup>e</sup> businesse of Reformation, and y<sup>e</sup> Duty of Separation from y<sup>e</sup> Worship of Antichrist, Cleaveing close to y<sup>e</sup> Doctrine of our Lord Jesus and his instituted worship. To which Mr. Fowler agreed that there was greate Corruption in Worship, and that it

was y<sup>e</sup> duty of People to Reforme from Corruptions in Worship; but he said that at that season, as things Stood, it was not a time, Because they should not be suffered, and should be cast out of all publique places. Mr. Cann answered, that mattered not; though they could not get a publick place or such conveniencies, they should *Hire a Barne* to meet in, keeping y<sup>e</sup> Worship and Commands of y<sup>e</sup> Lord as they were delivered to us. Thus Mr. Cann continued nearly two hours in y<sup>e</sup> Green, Asserting and proving y<sup>e</sup> duty of a people to y<sup>e</sup> Lord in such a day; after which they tooke leave of each other and departed.

But y<sup>e</sup> businesse of preaching in a Barne could hardly be received. Y<sup>e</sup> thing of *Relative Holinesse*, and tincture of Consecrated places, was not off y<sup>e</sup> people, for they were not as yett prepared, having been soe long nursed up in ignorance and outward forms.

But Mr. Hazzard being come home, Mr. Fowler aforesaid, meeting with him, tould him his wife was quite gone, and would hear him no more. Others deridingly said, y<sup>e</sup> next thing that followed would be that she would forsake the bed alsoe. Thus Sathan, when he knew not how to hinder them in their goeing on to perfect separation, he cast out slanderous fomentations. But she, approveing her heart to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, walked before him, with her husband, in his ordinances blameless, (to his death near 30 years afterwards.)

Then she, with those few that had joyned themselves together to worship y<sup>e</sup> Lord more purely (as aforesaid), after Mr. Cann had thus instructed them, and showed them y<sup>e</sup> Order of God's house, and y<sup>e</sup> Difference thereof from Antichristian Worship; then they stept further in Separation, And would not so much as hear any minister that did read Common prayer. Thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord led them by Degrees, and brought them out of Popish Darknesse into his Marvellous light of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell.

First of all, y<sup>e</sup> Lord alone, by his Spirit (*not by might nor by power*) opened their Eyes, and made them cast off y<sup>e</sup> Body of false Doctrine of y<sup>e</sup> Church of Rome, that had soe long deceived y<sup>e</sup> nations, and made them drinke y<sup>e</sup> wine of her fornication, worshipping under pretence y<sup>e</sup> true God in a false manner, Wrestling y<sup>e</sup> holy Scriptures to their owne Damnation, saying y<sup>e</sup> Reall presence of Christ was in y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament that signified his body by a Transubstantiation, and teaching man's workes merit salvation, and workes of Supererogation,<sup>10</sup> &c.

Secondly, Y<sup>e</sup> Lord put it into y<sup>e</sup> hearts of some in Authority in this Nation to cast off y<sup>e</sup> Body of y<sup>e</sup> Worship of Rome (as well as their Doctrine), namely, the Nest of Idollaters; even to cast out y<sup>e</sup> Monks, Friars, Abbots, Priests, Masses, Advocation of saints, with Praying for y<sup>e</sup> deceased, &c. These things were done

<sup>10</sup> Supererogation, i.e., "doing more than duty requires" (OED) and see article XIV in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.

long before; for which ruff<sup>11</sup> and rough work God chose and fitted rough spirits to doe it; more for their own Interest and concerne than aiming at God's glory. Soe through men's own private ends, y<sup>e</sup> wise Lord managed his owne good pleasure; Witnesse K: Henry VIII.

Thirdly, It pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord in these latter days to raise up a people, and make them come a step further in Reformation, even to come from under y<sup>e</sup> Skirts of y<sup>e</sup> Whore; and to cast off Popish Scraps of Doctrine and worship, y<sup>e</sup> Appendices thereof, namely, Idollatrous Holy dayes, primarily their 3 greate or Cardinal Masses,—viz., Michaels-mass, Christ—or py-masse, thirdly Candles-mass, dayes of their owne invention, like Jeroboam,—together with y<sup>e</sup> multitude of their saints' dayes soe called, as St. Allsoules, and St. Midsomer. Y<sup>e</sup> folly of which might be shewne at large, if it might not obstruct y<sup>e</sup> designe of a Briefe Narrative how y<sup>e</sup> Lord brought this Church out of darknesse.

Fourthly, Y<sup>e</sup> Lord alone by his Spirit made them to disrelish and cast off Carnal debauched preachers, Idoll shepherds that cared not after y<sup>e</sup> flock but y<sup>e</sup> Fleece, lookeing their gaine from every quarter, That did not relish or savour what they preached, nor preach what they savoured. Being thus blinde, others' eyes were opened not to follow them.

Fifthly, Y<sup>e</sup> Lord made them to embrace and Adhere to, Follow, love, and cleave to Lively and powerful preachers. By giving y<sup>e</sup> people a taste of his Spirit they desired more that they might grow thereby, and could not be content with y<sup>e</sup> abominable Broth that was not poured out by his Spirit.

Sixthly, Y<sup>e</sup> Holy One, by pouring forth into y<sup>e</sup> hearts of those that should be saved a more Sanctified Spirit, he made them Cast off; and leaveing y<sup>e</sup> common roade, they forsooke Prophaning y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day and hearkening unto Homilies,<sup>12</sup> of which they grew weary.

Seventhly, They left off Superstitious bowing at y<sup>e</sup> nameing of Jesus, and to y<sup>e</sup> Altar; which thing was plaine and open Idollatry, Worshipping and Adoring that which there is noe show of Precept for, but a direct and visible breach of y<sup>e</sup> Second commandment.

Eighthly, They Cast off y<sup>e</sup> Crosse and other Ceremonies at their Sprinkleing Children; which was a good stepp, though y<sup>e</sup> people could not see through to Reforme in that particular, to Cast off y<sup>e</sup> thing of Sprinkling itselfe, which was y<sup>e</sup> mere invention of men three hundred years after Christ, not mentioned of in Tertullian's time, Y<sup>e</sup> fruite of Apostacy that y<sup>e</sup> Church fell into,

<sup>11</sup> Ruff, i.e., "elation, pride, vainglory". (OED)

<sup>12</sup> Homilies. There were two books of Homilies. The first was prepared in 1542, but it was not issued until 1547 in Edward VI reign. It contained twelve addresses which could be used by illiterate clergy. A second book, which contained twenty-one addresses was issued in 1571 in Elizabeth I reign. It was this which was re-imposed during James I reign.

from one thing to another, Until at last they lost y<sup>e</sup> Substance of Religion, and kept only a Shaddow thereof. From Baptizing souls, as they entered into y<sup>e</sup> Church, in a River, they made a *Vaunt*,<sup>13</sup> and placed it in their publike places, near some great door; in all such places signifying or Resembling y<sup>e</sup> entrance into y<sup>e</sup> Church. Secondly, From Dipping y<sup>e</sup> children in y<sup>e</sup> font they by degrees took up Sprinkling them. Thirdly, From a Font, in processe of time, they used a Bason in their place called a church. Fourthly, From a bason in their church they brought it to a Bason in y<sup>e</sup> house. Fifthly, From Men, their parsons, to sprinkle, they allowed women to doe it, in case of necessity, as they called it, to seale their wills, and seale that which they never read by y<sup>e</sup> party's profession or confession, or saw by their Conversation. Thus leaveing (y<sup>e</sup> Examples in holy Scripture, and) y<sup>e</sup> Commands of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, in vaine doe they worship him, teaching for Doctrines y<sup>e</sup> Commandments of men, Mark vii. 7, or traditions of men; setting up their posts by y<sup>e</sup> Lord's.

Ninthly. (Though y<sup>e</sup> Lord for a time winked at y<sup>e</sup> times of these ignorances in that thing,) He made them cast off y<sup>e</sup> use of *Pictures* and Images; and they could not bear to hear any preach or plead for that ould Scrap and relique of Idollatry, soe much like pleading for Baal.

Tenthly. Y<sup>e</sup> Lord wrought soe upon their Spirits, that they would not kneel at y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament, because y<sup>e</sup> Example in Holy Scriptures was Sitting at y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper; though it was pleaded against them,—soe solemne an ordinance was to be done with a greate deale of Reverence, and kneeling was a reverence to God. But a Reverence and decency that God hath not commanded must not be observed, to make void y<sup>e</sup> Example or command; y<sup>e</sup> Patterne must be kept. Remember God's Altar must not be made of hewen stone, which to man was more Decent. Soe that this small thing in y<sup>e</sup> eye of many, was greate strength to y<sup>e</sup> Godly that left it off. They that make conscience in doing small things wille be made therby stronger, and enabled to doe greater; for he that hath cleane hands shall wax stronger and stronger in y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

Eleventhly. They cast off Hearing y<sup>e</sup> Common prayer—that *Nurse of Formality and Chaine of Security*. Many persons by readeing thereof, (without searching their hearts and leaveing of sinn,) they would lick themselves whole in their thoughts or esteem, like y<sup>e</sup> Harlott in y<sup>e</sup> Proverbs said,—I have paid my vows; come, let us Sin and be vaine;—not regarding whether their spirits received any Divine impresse upon it, broken and humbled in y<sup>e</sup> presence of God, and soe y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of y<sup>e</sup> Lord quenched, and no roome to breath, from y<sup>e</sup> sense of their present miscarriages or wants, whether Consolation or humiliation.

Twelvethly, They were holpen by y<sup>e</sup> Lord to cast off this alsoe, and to step this further in their Reformation, That at last they

<sup>13</sup> Vaunt, i.e., a 17th century spelling of font. (OED)

would not hear those men that did read Common prayer, that therby did declare themselves to owne or partake in any parte Consentingly to y<sup>e</sup> Worship of y<sup>e</sup> Beast.

Thus I have briefly recited Twelve steps that doth compleate a demonstration that they, this Church, in their begining, were truly reformed in a greate measure, in turning from y<sup>e</sup> Worship of Antichrist. And it is prayed and hoped y<sup>e</sup> Lord will in his due time, not only turne them from Antichrist, But that he will alsoe turne them perfectly to himselfe, and make them soe to waite upon him untill he Come, Rev. ii. 25; chap. xxii. 20.

These few being thus Joyned, Confirmed, and Separated, they began very much to encrease; and many that y<sup>e</sup> Lord had awakened and converted joyned in to them. But divers that were grave, sincere, and godly people, that had gone all along with them step by step untill this, would not enter into Church fellowship at that time, Standing off for many years. Now, notwithstanding some good people had not light in that duty soe to Separate from y<sup>e</sup> *Churche of England*, as they called it, and did not come in, yet those that had begun to joyne themselves together they did encrease, enjoying only their owne Gifts.

But sometimes Mr. Wroth would come over and preach to them, Strengthening them in y<sup>e</sup> Lord. Who lodged at Mr. Listun's afore-said, whose children y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Wroth would use to teach them at night-times this verse following:—

*Thy sinn, Thy end, The Death of Christ, The Eternall pangs of  
hell,  
The day of Doome, the Joyes of Heaven, These six remember  
well.*

Thus this holy and humble man, desiring y<sup>e</sup> good of soules, would be doing good wherever he came, both to young and old. Soe this Church of Christ, sometimes they had food from their Father's house sent unto them, and without feeding upon y<sup>e</sup> Huske of y<sup>e</sup> Swine; and sometimes some of y<sup>e</sup> Professors of Bristoll would goe over to Wales, to hear Mr. Wroth and y<sup>e</sup> good ministers there, soe lively were they in those times, so that y<sup>e</sup> Lord by one and by another built and encreased them still; reformation in Separation went on.

Much about this time Mr. Bacon (that chiefly was Speaker or teacher to this People), he was sent for, away from them, to a Good people that y<sup>e</sup> Lord stirred up, at a place called Philton, three miles from this citty, having no minister at that time to their parish. They, after much seekeing of him and argueing with him and the Church here, did obtaine him; and the Church of Bristoll sore against their wills was faine to parte with him to them, though he was principally useful to them, for they had noe Settled Pastor as yett. Which notwithstanding the losse of him, y<sup>e</sup>

Church here kept together; haveing sometimes only y<sup>e</sup> Brethren of y<sup>e</sup> Church, that were not Ministers, vulgarly soe called, but only Gifted, did use to speake and carry on y<sup>e</sup> Meetings, and they multiplied and grew in y<sup>e</sup> fear of y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

Then there joyned unto them one *Mr. Pennill*, who had before been a Minister at *Leonards*, but being enclined to reformation was severall times sett on by Mrs. Hazzard, like a Priscilla; soe he left off his conformity, and closed in with them. And y<sup>e</sup> Church increased to about one hundred Sixty persons from within y<sup>e</sup> Citty and Country near fifteen miles round. Some from Bussellton, Cainsome, and from Wells, came and joyned themselves to them.

Then began y<sup>e</sup> Warrs to Breake forth Between King Charles I. and y<sup>e</sup> Parliament of England.<sup>14</sup> Then where y<sup>e</sup> King's Army came y<sup>e</sup> Godly Professing people were faine to fly, and leave their habitations. Att that Time another Nickname and Tearme of Derision was cast upon y<sup>e</sup> Professors, that they were called *Roundheads*. Some think it arose from this:—Y<sup>e</sup> good people that were Zealous for y<sup>e</sup> Lord, *Turning from y<sup>e</sup> Manners of y<sup>e</sup> World* as well as their Worships, would not weare their haire long, as did y<sup>e</sup> ungodly; therefore they would cause their haire to be rounded very short, being cutt soe near that y<sup>e</sup> very Tips of their Ears were seen. Thus y<sup>e</sup> Opprobrious name of *Roundhead* was raised, and y<sup>e</sup> name of *Puritan* began to be lesse used and declined; soe that if y<sup>e</sup> King's Soldiers mett with any such, they were y<sup>e</sup> objects of their fury; wherefore y<sup>e</sup> good people were forced to Fly from them. And this Citty being now possessed with y<sup>e</sup> Parliament's Army, Many of y<sup>e</sup> Ministers and professors from Wales were faine to make haste from their families; being like to be taken by y<sup>e</sup> *Commission*<sup>15</sup> of *Array*, fled by night, some one way and some another, and came to this Citty, and joyned (namely, most of y<sup>e</sup> Church at Llanvaughas) with y<sup>e</sup> Church at Bristoll. But Mr. Wroth, their Pastor, was by y<sup>e</sup> Lord laid asleep, according to his prayer, before y<sup>e</sup> warr, which for a great while was feared; and therefore he petitioned he might never hear a Drum beat in order therto.

These two Churches being thus come together, and now haveing an opportunity to have an Ordinance of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper, to be Administered to them, by Reason Mr. Cradock was come; for unto that time about two years, though they had separated from y<sup>e</sup> World, yet were not in a settled way with a Pastor over them. But Mr. Cradock being Pastor over y<sup>e</sup> Church from Llanvaughas,<sup>16</sup> they sate downe together and brake bread; he being y<sup>e</sup> Administrator, first at y<sup>e</sup> Dolphin, in y<sup>e</sup> greate Roome,

<sup>14</sup> The battle of Edgehill was fought 23 Oct 1642.

<sup>15</sup> The Commissioners of Array were set up by Charles I in 1642 to raise money and men for the use of his army in various parts of the country. Parliament declared the Commission illegal, an offence against the liberty of the subject and his property.

<sup>16</sup> Llanvaughas. Llanvaches, a small village near Chepstow, Mons.

then afterward some time at a Baker's house, upon James' Back, who was a Member of y<sup>e</sup> Church. And after that they had y<sup>e</sup> use of a small publike place to themselves, called 'TEwins, by y<sup>e</sup> Tolzy, where they used to preach and celebrate y<sup>e</sup> Ordinances of y<sup>e</sup> Lord as it was delivered. And soe they continued and kept together in Church fellowship, breaking bread, and prayers, untill Bristoll was delivered up to y<sup>e</sup> King's forces, which was in y<sup>e</sup> year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and forty and three.<sup>17</sup>

ANO. 1643.—Then those of Wales, and most of y<sup>e</sup> Professors of this citty, were faine to journey to London; and thus goeing, a little way they were guarded by a Conduct of y<sup>e</sup> King's Souldiers, according to Articles agreed upon at y<sup>e</sup> delivering y<sup>e</sup> City. But by y<sup>e</sup> same guard they were stript and robbed in y<sup>e</sup> Country, contrary to Articles, and soe left them, those that had horses to goe on foote. When they came to London y<sup>e</sup> said People of Wales and those of Bristoll joyned together, and did commonly meet at greate *Allhallows* for y<sup>e</sup> most parte.<sup>18</sup> (Only those professors that were Baptized before they went up, they did sitt downe with Mr. Kiffen and his Church in London, being likewise Baptized.)

ANO. 1645.— And when Bristoll was surrendered<sup>19</sup> again to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament, y<sup>e</sup> Church came home again, that is, y<sup>e</sup> greatest parte of them. But some that were Joyned in Bristoll before they were driven out, were dealt with, and Cast out in London for Errors; and some fell away to Notions.<sup>20</sup> Soe that after they came downe againe, the heads and mindes of many of y<sup>e</sup> members were filled with Controversies, insomuch that every meeting almost was filled with Disputes and debates, that they were in greate Confusion, and but little Order;—some of them against Ordinances,<sup>21</sup> as having gott above them, or pleading that while y<sup>e</sup> Church of Christ was in her wilderness state they should not use them, and soe tooke liberty to forbear them;—(and it ended with them in a very vaine Conversation.) And being thus, as it were, in a Chaos of Confusion, by reason of those severall that did not cleave to their former received Principalls, nor Soberly retained their New Notions, but

<sup>17</sup> The city fell to Prince Rupert after three days of siege on July 26th 1643. Several people later connected with Bristol dissenters afterwards testified to the traitorous and cowardly surrender of the city by Col. Nathaniel Fiennes. Among these were Dorothy Hazzard, Jeremy Holwey, and Thomas Munday. Their depositions were published in full in the account of the trial in 1644. (A copy may be seen in Bristol City Library.) The conditions of the surrender were only partially kept, and the Parliamentary Garrison and others, as Terrill notes, were plundered by the Royalist soldiers.

<sup>18</sup> The church at All Hallows London was originally an Independent congregation led by Henry Jessey. By 1645 it had become an open communion Baptist church. William Kiffin was the Particular Baptist minister at Devonshire Square, London. Perhaps the group to which Terrill refers here were the eventual originators of the Pithay Particular Baptist Church, Bristol.



publicly propagating of them, and soe contending for them, and not duly keeping their places, those that did cleave to y<sup>e</sup> simplicity of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell of Christ, and y<sup>e</sup> ordinances thereof, began againe to New Modell themselves, and to Separate from those disturbers; and *Declared* that whosoever would keepe to the plaine truths of y<sup>e</sup> Scripture, and y<sup>e</sup> Gospell Ordinances as they were laid downe, should give in their Names. To which many assented, and gave in their Names; (among which two or three others that had not been formerly of y<sup>e</sup> Church, but came to hear, gave in their names alsoe; but at that time they would not receive them because not of y<sup>e</sup> Church before.) Thus having taken y<sup>e</sup> names of suche that againe gave up themselves to y<sup>e</sup> *Duty*es and *Priviledges* of such that were called to be saints,<sup>22</sup> they Entered into a *Covenant* that was very briefly written in a paper, and read unto them, to this Effect:—*That they would in y<sup>e</sup> Strength of Christ, keepe close to y<sup>e</sup> Holy Scriptures, y<sup>e</sup> word of God; and y<sup>e</sup> plaine truths and ordinances of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, of Church fellowship, breaking bread, and Prayers; And to Subject to one another, according to y<sup>e</sup> Discipline and admonition by y<sup>e</sup> Rules of Christ, in y<sup>e</sup> New Testament, or y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures.*

And so having Now by a New Embodying of themselves againe, and as it were renewing their Covenant with God and one another, they went on in y<sup>e</sup> wayes of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, meeting usually every Lord's day in y<sup>e</sup> Afternoons in Lewen's Meade, at a Brewer's house, namely, at one *Mrs. Nethway's*, a woman who in her day was very eminent for godlinesse, and of a good and greate understanding in y<sup>e</sup> fear of y<sup>e</sup> Lord; and Lord's dayes in y<sup>e</sup> mornings they usually heard Mr. Ingello, att y<sup>e</sup> Parish (or Publique) meeting house called *Allsaints* near y<sup>e</sup> Towlzy. And y<sup>e</sup> Church alsoe mett every fifth day of y<sup>e</sup> week, sometimes at one place, sometimes at another, of y<sup>e</sup> members' houses: for a considerable time it was kept at Sister Griffen's house, in Christmas Street. (Afterwards she was marryed to Mr. Edmund Ellis.) This meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Church upon y<sup>e</sup> fifth day of y<sup>e</sup> week, about four of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in y<sup>e</sup> afternoone,

<sup>19</sup> Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell stormed Bristol in September 1645. The city was surrendered on favourable terms by Prince Rupert.

<sup>20</sup> Notions, i.e., "given to abstract or fanciful speculation" (OED). Terrill frequently uses the word to describe those who were sympathetic to speculative Christian thought, and later he applies it to Quakers.

<sup>21</sup> *The Church of Christ in Bristol Recovering her Vail*, p. 14. In reply to Hollister Ewins writes: "you speak falsely again for the church never neglected the ordinance of the Lord's Supper any years: it is true that through your means and some others the church did forbear the practice of it about a year together: but it is one thing for a church upon occasion to forbear an ordinance; and another thing to totally neglect it."

<sup>22</sup> This makes it clear that it was the "saints as saints" principle which bound the members together. There is significantly no mention of baptism as a point of unity or disagreement. Note also that the group met within the structures of the parish system, with Ingello as their pastor. (See, G. F. Nuttall, *Visible Saints*, pp. 1-42)

was a meeting for *Conference*,<sup>23</sup> that was for divers or any of y<sup>e</sup> brethren to Speake unto a Question propounded from some place of Holy Scripture; that so there was liberty for any brother (and for any Sister by a brother), to propose his doubt of, or their desire of, understanding any Portion of Scripture; and y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren (especially y<sup>e</sup> officers in y<sup>e</sup> Congregation), one by one, would speak to y<sup>e</sup> Answering of y<sup>e</sup> Question, according as y<sup>e</sup> Lord did hint upon their Spirits, and then be Silent, and another speake, and soe a third, according to what was Commanded y<sup>e</sup> Churches, 1 Cor. xiv. 30, 31, 33. By this meanes and practice that y<sup>e</sup> fifth day, or y<sup>e</sup> weekly meeting, was allways managed by way of Conference, these seven benefitts did redound to y<sup>e</sup> glory of God, and y<sup>e</sup> well-being of y<sup>e</sup> church:—

First, by this Meeting for any brother to speak to any Scripture upon his heart, or to any Question that was proposed, that was judged meet by y<sup>e</sup> Elders for y<sup>e</sup> Church's Edification (those were rejected if any tended to vaine Jangling); first, this benefitt was found, that many dark Scriptures were opened.

Secondly, many soules had their doubts resolved, especially concerning their Interest in Christ and their Eternall state, when they heard y<sup>e</sup> doubts and experiences of others discovered.

Thirdly, many Cases of Conscience were Answered, what to doe, or not to doe, that in their Conversations they might know how to carry it towards their Heavenly father, and their neighbour, in divers particular cases, to keepe a Conscience void of offence towards God and Man.

Fourthly, Light in y<sup>e</sup> Church much increased, to y<sup>e</sup> clearing of their understandings in matters of faith and practice. For *Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline*, when any of these propounded in a Question, By divers speaking at y<sup>e</sup> same time to y<sup>e</sup> same thing, what light God had given them in it by searching y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures, or by any one Scripture being laid together, y<sup>e</sup> rest did (and could better) judge.

Fifthly, many Soules in y<sup>e</sup> Church confirmed and established that it was y<sup>e</sup> true grace of God wherein they stood, 1 Peter v. 12; which was of great use against those erring dayes and false Doctrines that Sathan and his instruments brought in, to draw away Soules from y<sup>e</sup> Simplicity of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell of our Lord Jesus to a light within.

Sixthly, by this meeting many brethren that seemed to have noe gift they were discovered to have a very Spirituall understanding, and a good utterance, to y<sup>e</sup> mutuall edification of y<sup>e</sup> Church. Soe that those gifts and graces that lay Dormant and hidden were

<sup>23</sup> Conference. A technical term used by Puritans which described the gathering of lay people in the established church for the purpose of talking about doctrine, polity and local action. When the Separatist churches were formed the term was applied to a regular meeting which Terrill describes and evaluates here. There is a close link between the "conference" in the 17th century, and the "classis" of the previous century.

brought forth, to y<sup>e</sup> end that our Lord gave them when he ascended, Eph. iv. 8 to 17.

Seventhly, and lastly (though more might be named), this benefitt followed, that those gifts that were discovered were encreased, and their knowledge much enlarged, and some enabled in processe of time (being trained up by these meetings of Conference), so hold forth y<sup>e</sup> word of life publickly, if there were occasion of necessity, to y<sup>e</sup> building up of y<sup>e</sup> Church, and converting of severall soules; that afterwards, as Experience hath found, to y<sup>e</sup> praise and glory of God it hath been declared, that God first awakened severall soules to turne from sin, and looke after their Soules' eternall wellfare, by y<sup>e</sup> speakeing of some of y<sup>e</sup> younger brethren at those meetings that in after years were kept up in y<sup>e</sup> Church.

Y<sup>e</sup> Church being thus settled, as aforesaid, by their New congregating, and leaveing those that sucked in Libertisme Notions to forbear, in that manner those that kept to y<sup>e</sup> Simplicity of y<sup>e</sup> Gospel withdrew from them, and kept together, meeting as aforesaid Lordes days and on y<sup>e</sup> fifth day. Haveing noe Pastor they Chose Mr. Ingello aforesaid (otherwise called Doctor Angello), to be their teacher, and sate under his Ministry about four or five years. They also desired him to break bread unto them, which accordingly he did during y<sup>e</sup> said time; and so y<sup>e</sup> Church walked together and increased.

And while they thus walked with Mr. Ingello their Teacher, by y<sup>e</sup> goodness of God they had one *Memorable* member added unto them: namely, a *Blackymore maide, named Francis*, a servant to one that lived upon y<sup>e</sup> Back of Bristoll, which thing is somewhat rare in our dayes and Nation, to have an *Ethyopian* or *Blackmore*, to be truly Convinced of Sin, and of their lost state without y<sup>e</sup> Redeemer, and to be truly Converted to y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus Christ, as she was; which, by her profession or declaration at y<sup>e</sup> time of her reception, together with her Sincere Conversation, she gave greate ground for charity to believe she was truly brought over to Christ; for this poor *Æthiopian's* soule savoured much of God, and she walked very humble and blamelesse in her Conversation to her end. And when she was upon her death-bed, she sent a Remarkable Exhortation unto y<sup>e</sup> whole Church with whom she walked, as her last request unto them; which argued her holy, child-like fear of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and how precious y<sup>e</sup> Lord was to her soule, as was observed by y<sup>e</sup> manner of her Expressing it, which was this;—one of y<sup>e</sup> Sisters of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation coming to visit her in her Sicknesse, she solemnly tooke her leave of her, as to this world, and prayed y<sup>e</sup> Sister to remember her to y<sup>e</sup> whole Congregation, and tell them, that she did begg every soule, To take heed that they did lett y<sup>e</sup> *glory of God to be dear unto them*;—a word meet for y<sup>e</sup> Church ever to remember, and for every particular member to observe, that they doe not lose y<sup>e</sup> glory of God in their families, neighbourhoods, or places where God casts

them; it being the dyeing words of a Blackmoore, fit for a *White heart* to store. After which, this Æthiopian yielded up y<sup>e</sup> Spirit to Jesus that redeemed her, and was Honourably Interred, being carried by y<sup>e</sup> Elders, and y<sup>e</sup> chiefest of note of y<sup>e</sup> brethren in y<sup>e</sup> congregation (Devout men bearing her) to y<sup>e</sup> grave, where she must rest untill our Lord doth come, who will bring his Saints with him. By this, in our days, we may see, Experimentally, that Scripture made good, *Οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει*, that is, *God is no respecter of faces; but among all nations, &c.* Acts x. 34, 35.

Thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord carried on his worke in this Church, in Mr. Ingello's time of being with them. But at last divers of y<sup>e</sup> Members of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation began to be offended with Mr. Ingello's Conversation; as first, with his Flaunting apparell, for he, being a Thin, spare, slender person, did goe very neate in a costly trimm, and in some time began to Exceed in some garments not becoming y<sup>e</sup> gospell, much lesse a Minister of Christ; which together with his being given so much to *Musick*, not only at his owne house, but at houses of entertainments out of Towne, sometimes with some of his Relations, and gentry of y<sup>e</sup> City of his acquaintance, he would be at his Musick. Of which when some of y<sup>e</sup> Members heard They were much troubled and offended; and dealeing with him for it by way of admonition and entreaty, they could not work upon him to leave his Musick, nor his soe frequent nor publique use thereof. For he tould them,—take away his *Musick*, take away his life; which offended and Stumbled them more, that is, y<sup>e</sup> Lively and most serious, watchfull members in those times; that their affections began to Alienate from him, and to hearken after another.

Whereupon some of y<sup>e</sup> members, hearing of y<sup>e</sup> fame of one Mr. Ewins, that was one of those that were sent forth by y<sup>e</sup> Church of Allhallows, in London, to preach y<sup>e</sup> Gospell in Wales (there were about six in all sent)—and y<sup>e</sup> church of Landvaughas, in Wales, some few miles from Chepstow, Chose Mr. Ewins to be their Teacher, and there by y<sup>e</sup> said Church, by fasting and prayer, he was sett aparte to y<sup>e</sup> work of y<sup>e</sup> Ministry. Landvaughas was y<sup>e</sup> church first planted by Worthy Mr. Wroth, whom Mr. Walter Cradock succeeded, and Mr. Ewins succeeded him. But one of y<sup>e</sup> Members of this Church, namely, Mrs. Nethway, aforesaid, of a gracious lively Spirit, rode over to Wales to hear this Mr. Ewins, soe to Taste as it were y<sup>e</sup> savour of his Spirit; and she being affected with his preaching, she was y<sup>e</sup> Instrument, when she came home, to perswade y<sup>e</sup> Leading brethren of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation that then were to endeavour to gett y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Ewins to be teacher to this Congregation, which accordingly was assented unto. Soe that some were sent by this Church in Bristoll to y<sup>e</sup> church of Landvaughas in Wales, to gett their Consent, and Mr. Ewins's consent, for his Settlement in Bristoll with this Church; but could not prevaile, y<sup>e</sup> Church being altogether unwilling to parte with him. Yett, not-

withstanding, after much adoe, and greate Importunity from y<sup>e</sup> Church and from y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates of Bristoll that then were, being invited by y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Aldermen, as well as y<sup>e</sup> Church, Mr. Ewins was prevailed with to come, and y<sup>e</sup> Church of Landvaughas was at last prevailed with soe far as to lend him to Bristoll (but not otherwise); by reason they saw y<sup>e</sup> need and Earnestnesse of this Church, and a letter from y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and Aldermen, and Steward of y<sup>e</sup> Citty, which was as follows:—

*Good Sir,* In pursuance of an *Act of Parliament*<sup>24</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> Better maintenance of Ministers to preach y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, Wee, y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners by y<sup>e</sup> said Act appointed, being mett together to consider and advise of able and godly men to preach y<sup>e</sup> Gospell in Bristoll, having Experience and much assurance of your faithfulness and sufficiency for that worke, do desire you, Sir, that you will please to come unto us, and performe y<sup>e</sup> work and service of a faithful dispensor of y<sup>e</sup> word of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell in this Citty. And forasmuch as there is a power given us by y<sup>e</sup> said Act, to make provision for a competent number of good ministers, we doubt not but wee shall provide a sufficient and comfortable maintenance for you. Wee shall expect to hear from you, and remaine, Sr, Your loving friends,—*Dennis Hollister, John Haggatt, James Powell, Thomas Harris, George Lane, Hu. Browne, Ri. Aldworth, Edw. Tyson, Robert Vickris, Jer. Holwey.*—Bristoll, y<sup>e</sup> 14th of July, 1651.

This is a true Coppie of y<sup>e</sup> letter sent unto Mr. Ewins to have him come to live at Bristoll, being from y<sup>e</sup> then Mayor, Hugh Browne, Esq., with divers Aldermen and others that were Commissioners for y<sup>e</sup> maintenance of Ministers for y<sup>e</sup> Citty of Bristoll.

1651.—Thus Mr. Ewins was settled teacher to this Church, and by y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, as aforesaid, made lecturer<sup>25</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> Citty alsoe; namely, at y<sup>e</sup> place called Nicolas, to preach a sermon every third day of y<sup>e</sup> week; and y<sup>e</sup> place they appoynted him for y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day was Christchurch, where he preached usually mornings, and at Maryporte in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon. But in y<sup>e</sup> Summer time Severall of other parishes would gett him in y<sup>e</sup> afternoones: at Thomas, on y<sup>e</sup> other side y<sup>e</sup> Bridge, and frequently to Phillips's, being those places were Spacious, for y<sup>e</sup> Conveniency of y<sup>e</sup> People he would be there. Thus he continued divers years, to y<sup>e</sup> Comfort, Peace, and Increase of y<sup>e</sup> Church.

And in those Halcyon days of Prosperity, liberty, and Peace, it Pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord to breake forth more primitive light and purity in Reformation of worship, to bring y<sup>e</sup> Church to a more Exact keepinge to y<sup>e</sup> Holy Scripture; so that some of y<sup>e</sup> Members began to Question what Rule they had for Sprinklinge of Children; and upon Examination finding noe bottome for it but men's Inventions

<sup>24</sup> The Propagation Act, 1650.

<sup>25</sup> Lecturer. The name given to a preacher (usually of Puritan sympathies) who was approved by the city authorities to preach at certain places on specific days.

and tradition. And many that were preachers of this latter age, knowing there was noe other ground but tradition for that practice, they endeavoured to finde out a way to hold it up by Arguments from y<sup>e</sup> Covenant made with Abraham. And about this Covenant they are full of variance among themselves; for aske one what this Covenant was, he will say one thing, and aske a Second, he will say another thing, &c.; but aske y<sup>e</sup> Scripture, and it will be found that there is not that in it that they pretend; if you compare Gen. xv. 7, 13, 16, 18, with Gen. xvii. 7, 8, where it is Confirmed with y<sup>e</sup> Lord's recitall, or Repeating it, Exod. vi. 6, 7; and Moses' expounding or repeating it, in Exod. xxxii. 13; and y<sup>e</sup> Apostle Paul's expounding of it, Gal. iii. 16, 29; and Romans ix. 6, 8, compared with Exod. xxix. 45. And our Saviour makes a distinction between Abraham's Seed and Abraham's Children, see John viii. 37, 39; and Paul from Christ soe saith, Rom. ix. 7.

Yett, notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> plaine Gospell Rule, (that none were baptized untill they professed their faith in Christ) they would have people (believe and) keepe to y<sup>e</sup> dispensation under y<sup>e</sup> Law, as though God had not altered it; but as if that there is y<sup>e</sup> same law for God's house, or church, under y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, as there was under y<sup>e</sup> Law, for y<sup>e</sup> discipline of it; though under y<sup>e</sup> Law and in Abraham's time, God changed it from what y<sup>e</sup> law of his house was in Enoch and Noah's time. But they will have y<sup>e</sup> Same Law of entrance into y<sup>e</sup> Church under y<sup>e</sup> Gospell Administration as it was under y<sup>e</sup> Law. Because all y<sup>e</sup> Children of y<sup>e</sup> Nation of y<sup>e</sup> Jews had a Right to both y<sup>e</sup> Seals under y<sup>e</sup> Law, namely, Circumcision and y<sup>e</sup> Passover, therefore they argue that Children under y<sup>e</sup> Gospell administration have a right to Baptisme. Yet they themselves will not graunt them a Right to y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper, though under y<sup>e</sup> Law they had a right to y<sup>e</sup> Passover; which doth confute themselves, in their keeping them from one of y<sup>e</sup> Seales, and not from both, as they should untill they professe their faith in Christ: for soe is y<sup>e</sup> Law under y<sup>e</sup> Gospell administration, *If thou believest thou mayest*, Acts viii. 37; it being changed from what it was under y<sup>e</sup> Law. As saith y<sup>e</sup> Authour to y<sup>e</sup> Hebrews, chap. vii. 12, *The Priesthood being changed, there is made of Necessity a change alsoe of y<sup>e</sup> Law*; (that is to say,) a Change of y<sup>e</sup> Law of God's house for Discipline, Ezek. xlv. 5, and for y<sup>e</sup> forme of y<sup>e</sup> house. But there is not a change of y<sup>e</sup> Moral Law, for that abides as a rule of life for conversation to all generations. But this Law, or forme of y<sup>e</sup> Church under Gospell administration, is not y<sup>e</sup> same with y<sup>e</sup> forme under y<sup>e</sup> Legall administration, for y<sup>e</sup> Apostle saith there is a change of that as well as of y<sup>e</sup> priesthood. But Antichrist, the Papall church, haveing reigned long, did introduce formes and Laws of its owne invention, and laid aside y<sup>e</sup> simplicity of y<sup>e</sup> forme laid downe in y<sup>e</sup> New Testament.

Now y<sup>e</sup> Lord hath been of late years leading out his people out of Romish darknesse, to practise y<sup>e</sup> ordinances, as they were

delivered by Christ himselfe and y<sup>e</sup> Apostles, recorded in holy Scriptures, (which is y<sup>e</sup> Christian's rule). And accordingly y<sup>e</sup> Lord awakened some of this Church to consider there was noe ground for Baptizing children, much less for Sprinkleing them; and, therefore, they had not been rightly Baptized, according to y<sup>e</sup> Scripture.

AN<sup>o</sup>. 1652.—Whereupon, one of y<sup>e</sup> members, namely, Thomas Munday, being convinced in y<sup>e</sup> year of our Lord 1652, he desired leave of y<sup>e</sup> congregation to goe and joyne himselfe to y<sup>e</sup> other Church in Bristoll that were all Baptized, having one Henry Hynam for their teacher. And when, after divers reasonings with y<sup>e</sup> said Brother Munday, they could not prevaile with him to abide in his former understanding as to that point, they gave him liberty to departe, and joyne himself to y<sup>e</sup> other church aforesaid. Thus, of severall that were enlightened in y<sup>e</sup> truth, some had strength to practize it.

AN<sup>o</sup>. 1653.—And y<sup>e</sup> next year 1653, another member, namely, Timothy Cattle, being convinced of y<sup>e</sup> ordinance of Baptism, that none ought to be partakers thereof but such as professe faith in our Lord Jesus Christ;—and when he had declared his desires of enjoying that ordinance (of our Lord, as it was delivered to us), and y<sup>e</sup> Scripture grounds for it to y<sup>e</sup> Church,—they agreed that if any were convinced of that ordinance, they might practize it; desireing that such persons soe convinced, and practicing that ordinance of Baptism in that Scripturall manner, would keepe their places in y<sup>e</sup> Church, and not leave their Communion notwithstanding. Agreeable to which agreement and desire y<sup>e</sup> Church advized brother Cattle to be Baptized at London, he having some occasions to go there about his private occasions. In order thereunto y<sup>e</sup> Church gave him a letter to one Mr. Henry Jesse, a gracious, holy, Baptized minister, in London, desireing him to Baptize their said member, Timothy Cattle, which, according to their desire, he did.<sup>26</sup> After this, divers others of y<sup>e</sup> Church were Baptized, according to Scripture Example, in a River.

But Sathan, seeing y<sup>e</sup> abundance of light of Reformation in this Nation, envying y<sup>e</sup> progresse of y<sup>e</sup> Doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Justification freely by his grace, he transformed himselfe into an Angell of light, and made use of Popish Jesuits to Creep abroad up and downe in England, and, under the guise of Professors of truth Spread about many damnable Errors and Heresies, Beguiling some unstable professors. Thereby Sathan deceived many Profane people to embrace their upstart notions of Quakerisme, under a pretence of a great degree of holinesse, by hearkening to y<sup>e</sup> light within, which they called

<sup>26</sup> Prior to 1653 Broadmead was an Independent Church within the "established" church. From this date it becomes a "mixed" or "open communion" Baptist church, treating "saints as saints" in the Cradock and Jessey tradition. It does not become a closed communion Particular Baptist Church until after 1687.

Christ, (laying aside y<sup>e</sup> Manhood of our Blessed redeemer); when as that light is but y<sup>e</sup> light of nature which in common is planted in all mankinde,—y<sup>e</sup> same with that y<sup>e</sup> heathens and Blackmores have, and y<sup>e</sup> remotest Indians, which know not Christ nor never heard of him;—and they omit y<sup>e</sup> Light of y<sup>e</sup> Word of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and y<sup>e</sup> light of God's Spirit, Proceeding from y<sup>e</sup> Father, by y<sup>e</sup> word, or holy Scriptures. Thus smoake out of y<sup>e</sup> Bottomless pit arose, and y<sup>e</sup> Locust Doctrine came forth, as it is written, Rev. chap. ix. 2, 3, 4.

At this time, Dennis Hollister, a grocer in High Street, being a Member of this Church, the meeting for Conference on y<sup>e</sup> fifth day of y<sup>e</sup> week was usually at his house. And he was naturally a man of an High spirit, Dyotrephe-like loved to have y<sup>e</sup> pre-eminence in y<sup>e</sup> Church; and at that time had great Influence upon y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates of y<sup>e</sup> Citty, and by them was chosen to be a Parliament-man for y<sup>e</sup> Citty of Bristoll;—that is, one of them called y<sup>e</sup> Little Parliament,<sup>27</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> dayes of Oliver Cromwell, called Lord Protector when as God alone was y<sup>e</sup> Protector of his people; (*but we sinned.*)

On this occasion, Hollister, staying at London, had sucked in some Principles of this upstart Locust Doctrine, from a sorte of people afterwards called Quakers; that when that Parliament was dissolved by Oliver, Dennis came home from London with his heart full of Discontent, and his head full of Poisonous new Notions, (as was discerned by some of y<sup>e</sup> members of y<sup>e</sup> Church). And he began to vent himselfe; and at one meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Church, after he came downe, he did Blasphemously say, y<sup>e</sup> Bible was y<sup>e</sup> *Plague of England*. From that time y<sup>e</sup> Church would meet noe more at his house.

About that time of his Notions there came to Bristoll two men of strange principalls,<sup>28</sup> and thrust themselves into y<sup>e</sup> meetings of y<sup>e</sup> Church, and would put themselves forward to speake in their tone, Judging and condemning all that did not as they did—a spirit y<sup>e</sup> Church was not acquainted with, nor with their Doctrine of Divills. And these persons Dennis received into his house,

<sup>27</sup> The Barebones Parliament, or the Parliament of the Saints, sat from 4 July 1653 till 12 Dec 1653. Hollister represented Somerset and was chosen a member of the Council of State on July 14th. It was Cromwell's attempt to establish the rule of the godly and the sovereignty of the people—an impossible task. Independent congregations were asked to propose names and from these 140 were chosen to comprise the Assembly of the Nominees. It contained many Fifth Monarchy men, who were for approximating national government as far as possible to Old Testament Biblical patterns. Hollister was a Baptist on appointment, but soon after returning to Bristol he adopted Quaker views. It would appear that Terrill was for the rule of the saints, but not for Cromwell as Lord Protector.

<sup>28</sup> This was the visit of John Audland and Thomas Airey in June 1654, when they preached in Baptist and Independent congregations in Bristol. Audland returned to the city with John Camm in September 1654, and was entertained by Hollister.



entertained them, and closed in with their Doctrine, and pleaded for them against those that did oppose them, or speake against them as dangerous persons, and walking in a spirit of delusion,—which at first they were, but by few soe understood. For they came in such a guise of outward holinesse, they soe transformed themselves, that, as our Saviour foretold, If it were possible they would deceive y<sup>e</sup> very elect, under a pretence of liveing in y<sup>e</sup> Spirit, and abandon formes and respect of persons, as Matt. xxiv. 24, 26; saying, Christ in y<sup>e</sup> Secret Chambers: (that is,) within, only in y<sup>e</sup> heart, y<sup>e</sup> light within:—y<sup>e</sup> finest thread y<sup>e</sup> papist could spin, seeing we would not believe their Old Doctrine, that Christ and salvation were in y<sup>e</sup> Desert, that is, y<sup>e</sup> Law, (doeing good works from a wrong principall to merit), y<sup>e</sup> Law was given in y<sup>e</sup> Desert; therefore, this interpretation of y<sup>e</sup> Law y<sup>e</sup> Desert, and y<sup>e</sup> secret chamber y<sup>e</sup> heart, which is y<sup>e</sup> Secret parte of man, and most private Chamber, may well be understood. Of this we see our Saviour foretold us, and Commanded us not to believe it. And y<sup>e</sup> Apostle Paul saith, 2 Cor. xi. 13, 14, 15, that *Sathan himselfe is transformed into an Angell of light, therefore it is noe great thing if his ministers alsoe be transformed as y<sup>e</sup> ministers of righteousness; whose End shall be according to their workes*. Thus they coming as foretold, they were not knowne; but afterwards they were Called by y<sup>e</sup> name of Quakers, from people's shakeing and quakeing that received them and their Doctrine, and then they were fixed to their opinion after such a fitt upon them.

Thus y<sup>e</sup> damnable doctrine, even denying y<sup>e</sup> Lord that bought them, promoted by y<sup>e</sup> Jesuits,<sup>29</sup> and assisted by Evil spirits from y<sup>e</sup> Divill, was founded. For Divers persons were seen in this City, when hearing of them, to be taken in such a Concution in their Bodyes, that they would fall downe upon y<sup>e</sup> earth, and wallowing upon y<sup>e</sup> ground would foame at y<sup>e</sup> mouth, like as we read in Mark ix. 20, and Luke ix. 39. By which their foameing it is Evident it was not y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of God, but y<sup>e</sup> *Spirit of Divills* that helped y<sup>e</sup> fomenters, Jesuits and Papist, in carrying on this worke, or false Doctrine, To put y<sup>e</sup> professors of England in confusion in matters of Doctrine. Seeing that, in those *Oliverian* dayes of Liberty, they had cast off all Popery, and y<sup>e</sup> Skirts of them, even Common-prayer, and all unscripturall formes of worship, and y<sup>e</sup> Papist saw that abundance of Primitive light was in y<sup>e</sup> Nation, (and that y<sup>e</sup> people gathered themselves into Congregations, Preached y<sup>e</sup> Gospell only, for salvation by free grace, and workes but as y<sup>e</sup> fruite of a lively faith, no Merit, and that they practiced y<sup>e</sup> ordinances of y<sup>e</sup> New Testament, as they were delivered and recorded in y<sup>e</sup> holy Scripture, without any Addition, or Detraction from y<sup>e</sup> Commands of our Lord Jesus, and y<sup>e</sup> Example of y<sup>e</sup> Apostles in y<sup>e</sup> Primitive Churches) they designed with y<sup>e</sup> Enemy

<sup>29</sup> Terrill shared a common 17th century view that in some way Quakers were really Roman Catholic, and particularly Jesuit, inspired groups.

to come and sow *Tares* among y<sup>e</sup> wheat. For that Doctrine of y<sup>e</sup> light within, or Christ only within, and their affected Sanctity, manner of speaking, and Brutish deportment to Civill Magistrates, &c. was carried on by y<sup>e</sup> Jesuits, and among those opinions Divers Doctrines of y<sup>e</sup> Papist alsoe; of which many of y<sup>e</sup> Simple-hearted among them that followed them, were like Absalom's company, 2 Sam. xv. 11, *They went in their Simplicity, and they knew not any thing* thereof, soe they were deceived. For many of them to this day *goe about deceiving, be deceived*, as it is written, 2 Tim. iii. 13; and doe not know y<sup>e</sup> *depths of Sathan as they speake*, as Rev. ii. 24.

Now that y<sup>e</sup> Papist or Jesuits carried on their designe as afore-said, among divers other signall and eminent discoverys in y<sup>e</sup> nation, and in this City of Bristoll, these two following may be observed.

AN<sup>o</sup>. 1654.—Y<sup>e</sup> first is this following Deposition, taken before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor that then was, a Coppie whereof is as follows:—

*Civitas Bristoll. Y<sup>e</sup> Information of George Cowlshay, of y<sup>e</sup> City of Bristoll, Ironmonger, taken y<sup>e</sup> 22nd day of January, 1654,—*

Who informeth on Oath, that in y<sup>e</sup> Month of September last, this informer had some discourse in Bristoll with one Mr. Coppinger an Irishman formerly a schoolfellow of his, that came hither purposely for his passage into Ireland, who told this informer that he had lived in Rome and Italy eight or nine years, and had taken upon him y<sup>e</sup> Order of Fryar of y<sup>e</sup> Franciscans' Company; and he told this informer that he had been at London lately, for some months, and whilst he was there he had been at all y<sup>e</sup> Churches and Meetings, publike and private, that he could heare of, and that none came so near him as y<sup>e</sup> Quakers. And being at y<sup>e</sup> meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Quakers, he there mett with two of his acquaintance in Rome, that were now become chief speakers amongst y<sup>e</sup> Quakers, and that he himselfe had spoken amongst them in London above 30 times, and was well approved of amongst them; y<sup>e</sup> which two afore-mentioned persons were of y<sup>e</sup> same Franciscan Order and company. And this Informer further saith, that y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Coppinger asked him, what kinde of Oppinions in religion there were in Bristoll. And this Informer told him that they were of severall oppinions and judgments. And not nameing any of y<sup>e</sup> oppinion of y<sup>e</sup> Quakers, y<sup>e</sup> said Coppinger asked him where there had been any Quakers in Bristoll? And this Informer answered him, No. Whereupon y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Coppinger tould him, y<sup>e</sup> said Informer, that if he did love his religion and his soule he should not hear them. Whereupon this informer tould him, he thought none of them would come to Bristoll; who presently replied, that if this informer would give him Five pounds he would make it 500*l*, if some Quakers did not come to Bristoll in 3 weeks or a Month then following. And on y<sup>e</sup> Morrow following y<sup>e</sup> said

Coppinger departed from this Citty for Ireland his Native place. And about 18 days after, there came to this Citty two persons that bare y<sup>e</sup> name of Quakers.

This is a True Coppie of y<sup>e</sup> Information, parte of which was written by old Mr. Haynes, y<sup>e</sup> Schoolemaster before-mentioned in this Booke, and y<sup>e</sup> other parte written by me (at that time, about eighteen years since,) Edward Terrill, that writ this. By all which, it is very Evident y<sup>e</sup> Papists, by their Emissarys and Agents, did promote this Error and Delusion.

Another discovery in this Citty, that may not altogether be unworthy of Observation, was this, That he that writes these things was an Eye and Ear-witness of. Att that time, he, liveing with Mr. Haynes, was by him sent to hear them, and to write after them, because he could write Characters,<sup>30</sup> and was directed to y<sup>e</sup> Skinner's Hall in Lewens' Mead, where y<sup>e</sup> place was first appoynted for them to speak in that day; but afterwards it was altered to Captain Bishop's house in Corn Street, where he then lived. And when I came thither, many people being come together but y<sup>e</sup> Speakers being not come, they were waiting somewhat long, And a particular cluster or knott of men, about halfe-a-dozen, standing about y<sup>e</sup> middle of y<sup>e</sup> Hall, they were talkeing together; and I, standing by them, heard one of them aske another, whether (nameing y<sup>e</sup> proper name of y<sup>e</sup> Speaker) he knew whither to come, because he tarried soe long? Another of y<sup>e</sup> said cluster answered, Yea; I tould him y<sup>e</sup> last night. Now this man that answered thus, I had a great deale of satisfaction in minde that he was an Irishman, being a stranger, and had frequently seen him walkeing among and along with y<sup>e</sup> Irishmen that then were in y<sup>e</sup> Citty and reputed papists, and I esteemed him soe. Which made me much to wonder, That such a one should be an appointer of y<sup>e</sup> place and time of y<sup>e</sup> Quakers' meeting, and it raised up doubts in me whether he were not a Jesuit; (for not long before that, an Irish Jesuit was apprehended in this Citty, with his Trinketts, and by y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates sent up to y<sup>e</sup> Councell). But for my further satisfaction to know what that man was that appoynted, (as he said), y<sup>e</sup> speaker where to come, There being at that time an Irish papist boy at schoole with Mr. Haynes, The next day, as y<sup>e</sup> same man passed by with other Irishmen as formerly, I did ask y<sup>e</sup> Boy if he knew that man, (poynting to him). And y<sup>e</sup> Boy answered, He did. Whereupon I inquired of him, what he was? who said, that y<sup>e</sup> man was his Countryman. And asking him, what Religion y<sup>e</sup> man was? he said, he was a Roman catholique, of his Religion. But asking him, whether he was not a Jesuite? he said, he could not tell; whether he had taken orders of a Priest or Fryar he knew not. Soe that this doth appear, that an *Irish Papist* had a hand in

<sup>30</sup> Characters, i.e., a style peculiar to the person who is writing, possibly a short-hand style of a scrivener.

appointing y<sup>e</sup> Quakers' meeting at that time, (and who knows how many since?)

*All* which did more confirme me in what I had a little before read in those times, in some printed papers that were sett forth by some baptized friends,<sup>31</sup> to caution professors to take heed of that sorte of people, called y<sup>e</sup> Quakers, because they Cried downe y<sup>e</sup> holy Scriptures, and y<sup>e</sup> Instituted ordinances of our Lord and Saviour, and Cryed up a light within them. Which printed small paper bookes further showed that it was y<sup>e</sup> design of Sathan carryed on by Papist alsoe, and that there was an Evill Spirit went along with that Doctrine, and had power over some, By their speakers looking on them.

Thus these persons being come, and their Dangerous Prodigious Doctrines beginning to take with some Ignorant people, that were not well acquainted with y<sup>e</sup> sound principles of Religion, and with some others that had only y<sup>e</sup> notions of Religion, and never yielded up themselves to y<sup>e</sup> Lord in his wayes, to walke in y<sup>e</sup> power of y<sup>e</sup> truths they heard or knew, Dennis Hollister also before-mentioned, Tampering with them, received and embraced divers of their *Heterodox* opinions; which suiting with his naturall proud spirit, conceiting well of himselfe and judging others, he Cleaved unto them, and thought to have drawn away all y<sup>e</sup> Congregation after him; (as he superbiously<sup>32</sup> did use that word, John xii. 32, *will draw all men unto me*). But y<sup>e</sup> Lord prevented him, having, in mercy, sent Mr. Ewins before-mentioned, to be y<sup>e</sup> Church's Teacher, (as a Joseph sent beforehand), to lead them and keep them together, that they should not all fall with that apostate, and those evill instruments: for with this Dennis, there fell about 18 or nineteen members more, that rent away from y<sup>e</sup> Church. But through grace y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Church, being y<sup>e</sup> major parte by aboundance, they, y<sup>e</sup> Church, being near 60 persons left, cleaved to y<sup>e</sup> only Saviour Our Crucified Lord Jesus Christ for life and Salvation, singly and alone by him, through faith in his name; and kept close to y<sup>e</sup> Holy Scripture for y<sup>e</sup> rule of life, and to y<sup>e</sup> ordinances of Christ lay'd down in that holy word, that y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus Christ himselfe and y<sup>e</sup> primitive saints walked in.

After this grand Rupture, that soe many members did backslide from that they formerly profest, owned, and joyned together in, of That Jesus Christ crucified without y<sup>e</sup> gate at Jerusalem was y<sup>e</sup> only Messiah, and justification before or in y<sup>e</sup> sight of

<sup>31</sup> *Heart Bleedings for Professors' Abominations, etc.* (1650). Signed by Spilsbury, Kiffin and 14 others. Of Quakers they wrote: they "persuade the sons and daughters of men, that what is declared concerning the death of Christ at Jerusalem, and his bearing our iniquities upon the cross, is but a mere history and shadow, that the Scriptures are but a letter, and the ordinances of God but fleshly forms, thereby labouring to beget in peoples minds a contempt and slight esteem of Christ, His word and ordinances." (p. 4)

<sup>32</sup> Superbiously, i.e., "superbly". (OED)

God only by him, and obedience to y<sup>e</sup> commands of God only out of love to God in Christ, not for merit, but as our reasonable service, for soe great mercy bestowed upon (Rom. xii. 1), us in y<sup>e</sup> gift of God, y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus Christ, for Eternall life only by him;—this they owning, and when so many fell from them and this Gospell truth, y<sup>e</sup> rest, being y<sup>e</sup> church, kept many dayes of fasting and prayer, 1, to know y<sup>e</sup> reason why so great a Breach was made upon them; 2, and to pray that those of them that were left might be kept sound in y<sup>e</sup> faith, and be inabled to stand fast in this Evill and declineing day, wherein many turne their backs upon y<sup>e</sup> truth; and 3, to give them wisdome how to Carry it towards those fallen, to discharge their duty to God and them.

These three petitions were eminently Answered. First, y<sup>e</sup> Pastor or Teacher, MR. EWINS, and y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elder that then was, namely, Brother ROBT PURNELL, (who, before that Apostacy, he was a Deacon, but after was chosen an Elder, and Brother Moore chosen a Deacon) I say, those two were pressed in their Spirits to take up y<sup>e</sup> ordinance of Baptisme, of which they were before Enlightened. Especially Broth. Purnell for severall years had been convinced of his duty therein, but omitted y<sup>e</sup> practice thereof. Thus they being now stirred up to their duty, to glorify God in their day in owning his commands in y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, and lay aside y<sup>e</sup> traditions of man in Worship, these two, namely Mr. Ewins and Mr. Purnell, went to London, and tooke up y<sup>e</sup> ordinance of Baptism. And they were Accordingly Baptized by Brother Mr. Henry Jessy, after which they came downe,<sup>33</sup> and proceeded in y<sup>e</sup> Church and worke of y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

Thus there seemed to be hinted why y<sup>e</sup> great breach was made, because they had not walked faithfull to their light in y<sup>e</sup> ordinances of God (such kinde of fear was upon their spirits); and that they had not kept Close to y<sup>e</sup> holy Scriptures for y<sup>e</sup> Rule of worship, and to y<sup>e</sup> footesteps of y<sup>e</sup> flock, the Example or path of y<sup>e</sup> primitive saints Recorded in holy writt; and blamed themselves they had not Rejected all notions of men whatsoever for matters of worship, than what is plainly laid downe in y<sup>e</sup> written Word. But for or in Matters of Doctrine consequences may, and many times ought to, be allowed,—as to prove y<sup>e</sup> Resurrection of our Bodys, and our Interest in y<sup>e</sup> Promises, and God's call to and Covenant with us poore wretched sinners; and to prove our Receiving true grace, our Effectual calling and Election, and our union with Christ after y<sup>e</sup> new birth, Repentance and faith in him; and to Prove, as y<sup>e</sup> Apostle doth (Rom. iii. 20, 28, and Rom. iv. 4, 9, 23, 25; Rom. v. 1, and Titus iii. 4, 5) salvation to be by free grace, not of workes, nor of y<sup>e</sup> Will of man, but alone of y<sup>e</sup> mercy of God, Rom. ix.

<sup>33</sup> Purnell records a visit of Jessey to Bristol at this time. The reason for seeking baptism in London was the mixed communion views of Purnell would not have been acceptable to the Particular Baptist congregation at the Pithay.

13 to y<sup>e</sup> 16;—for these things of Doctrine and such like may consequences be used. But in matters of worship we may not use Consequences, but must come to y<sup>e</sup> Institutions of Christ, as y<sup>e</sup> Apostle doth, when he was instructing them in matters of worship; 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, he brings them to y<sup>e</sup> first Celebration of y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance; and soe y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper must be allwayes done. Therefore y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance of Baptism must be allwayes so administered or done, *as at first* it was done by y<sup>e</sup> Apostles, both as to y<sup>e</sup> Subjects to whom they did it, which was to Believers, That is, them that had given them a profession of their faith; And y<sup>e</sup> *Manner how* they did it, which was by Dipping them in Rivers, not Sprinkling them.

As to y<sup>e</sup> second Petition they then sought y<sup>e</sup> Lord was graciously answered by him, for now near 20 years since<sup>34</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lord hath kept this church that none of them turned Quakers. But one woman, a new member, who some time after was received, and her husband was Propounded to y<sup>e</sup> Church, he desiring to joyne at y<sup>e</sup> same time with her; but y<sup>e</sup> Church, understanding some evils in his Conversation that they found by Enquiry, they would not receive him, though they did his wife. Not long after, he turned a Quaker, and ceased not in endeavours untill he had overcome his wife; who, being of a Meeke nature was drawne away by him. Thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord hitherto has kept this church, and Divers Quakers have been convinced of their Errors, and have afterwards been joyned to us; but none of y<sup>e</sup> Apostates, or those that fell from y<sup>e</sup> Church, are yett Returned.

As to y<sup>e</sup> third Petition they then sought y<sup>e</sup> Lord for, by fasting and prayer, was Answered very Evidently, by quickening their spirits to oppose and Resist that false deluded spirit; for in those times, (for y<sup>e</sup> 7 years, untill y<sup>e</sup> Change came, that they were sorely punished by Imprisonments and otherwise as well as we ourselves), they would, that is y<sup>e</sup> Quakers would, frequently come into our Assemblies, and condemne all but themselves. And soe like unto *Jannes and Jambres*, as they *withstood Moses*, soe did these also resist y<sup>e</sup> truth: *men of Corrupt mindes, reprobate concerning y<sup>e</sup> faith. Y<sup>e</sup> good Lord graunt they may proceed no further, but that their folly may be manifest, as theirs alsoe was*, 2 Tim. iii. 8, 9. And as to those members that at first fell away together, y<sup>e</sup> Church was led to send Three Brethren to them, to admonish them of their Evills in turning their Back upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and his wayes, his Truths, and Ordinances, they practiced formerly. Which *Admonition*, consisting of 5 particulars, is as follows:—

First that they were admonished of was for leaveing y<sup>e</sup> Church; which had three sad Consequences: first, y<sup>e</sup> drawing of many away from y<sup>e</sup> faith and wayes of Christ in y<sup>e</sup> Gospell; secondly, y<sup>e</sup> stumbling of many weake soules; thirdly, y<sup>e</sup> opening of y<sup>e</sup> mouths of many to speake Evill of y<sup>e</sup> ways of truth, as 2 Peter ii. 22.

<sup>34</sup> That is, from 1654 to 1672.

Secondly, their contemning of some, and neglecting of other y<sup>e</sup> wayes of Christ, or Ordinances recorded in y<sup>e</sup> Gospell of Jesus Christ.

Thirdly, their Extreme Censoriousness and rash Judging, not only of Persons abroad, but also of y<sup>e</sup> Church, contrary to Matt. vii. 1, Rom. xiv. 3; alsoe their calling y<sup>e</sup> Church an Harlot.

Fourthly, their Asserting in y<sup>e</sup> Church Doctrines contrary to truth; as first, that we did not know what faith was, And that faith was an Eternall thing; Secondly, that Christ and faith were all one; Thirdly, that Christ is not y<sup>e</sup> object of faith.

Fifthly, their speaking reproachfully of y<sup>e</sup> Holy Scriptures; affirming they were a Blinde and a plague to Soules. And further, some of them said, they were not y<sup>e</sup> word of God, nor Rule of life.

Y<sup>e</sup> church thus, according to y<sup>e</sup> Order of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, sent to these fallen members to endeavour their recovery; but some of them would not answer, others of them very contemptuously slighting y<sup>e</sup> Church in this their Act with many revileings, as y<sup>e</sup> manner of those people is. After some Months' time, y<sup>e</sup> church sent, y<sup>e</sup> second time, an Admonition to them, which is as followeth:—

*Wee*, y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, doe againe, y<sup>e</sup> second time, according to y<sup>e</sup> Scripture rule, Matt. xviii. 15 to y<sup>e</sup> 20, Titus iii. 10, &c. in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus our Saviour, and in tender bowells of Pitty and love to your soules, beseech, admonish, and warne you to repent of your Sinns, and refraine from your Evill wayes, and to return to y<sup>e</sup> true faith and ways of y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus Christ recorded in y<sup>e</sup> Gospell; that, if it be possible, y<sup>e</sup> Glory of God may be recovered, reproaches Scandalls and Stumbling-blocks removed, our Soules refreshed, and your Soules Eternally saved; which is y<sup>e</sup> desire and End of y<sup>e</sup> Church, in y<sup>e</sup> Performance of this their duty to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and service to your souls.

Wee doe also appoint and desire three of our brethren, viz. Robert Simpson, Richard Moone, Robert Purnell, to admonish them; to whom we shall give y<sup>e</sup> Particular things to admonish each person of, &c.

Thus y<sup>e</sup> Church having thus farr done their duty, did not proceed further to cast them out of y<sup>e</sup> Church, or deliver them over to Sathan, because it was y<sup>e</sup> Advice of some, as Mr. Cradock, that it need not, seeing they did Excommunicate themselves, by never coming to y<sup>e</sup> Church. Soe y<sup>e</sup> Church did only reject them, by declareing them no members of this Church; (Though others were of oppinion, that by rejection, in Titus iii. 10, *παραιρού*, may be understood such an excommunication, or avoiding, as amounts to a delivering over to Sathan; as Hymeneus, 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18, denying y<sup>e</sup> resurrection, in y<sup>e</sup> 1 Tim. i. and last, is delivered to Sathan).

After this, Sathan in those quakers being intraged, Dennis Hollister, one of y<sup>e</sup> Apostate members, puts forth a Booke in print against y<sup>e</sup> Church, entitled, Y<sup>e</sup> Skirts of y<sup>e</sup> Whore Discovered.

In answer to which y<sup>e</sup> Church was faine to put forth another Booke, printed in y<sup>e</sup> year 1657, Intituled, Y<sup>e</sup> Church of Christ, in Bristoll, recovering her veil out of y<sup>e</sup> hands of them that had Smitten, wounded her, and taken it away.

AN<sup>o</sup>. 1657.—Thus y<sup>e</sup> Church Proceeded, and kept y<sup>e</sup> ways and Ordinances of y<sup>e</sup> Lord; labouring in their Generation-worke, holding forth y<sup>e</sup> Gospell to y<sup>e</sup> World, and conflicting with this new, upstart Error of Quakerisme, Began (no doubt,) by Sathan, and carried on by his Instruments, Popish Seminaries, Jesuits, and some apostate Professors that had not received y<sup>e</sup> truth of our Lord in y<sup>e</sup> love of it, and by some ignorant bewitched and deluded people, that knew not whereof they affirmed. And such quakers many times would come into our meetings on y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, in y<sup>e</sup> open publique Places, called Churches (which we had then liberty to be in, during all y<sup>e</sup> time of Oliver's reigne), and in y<sup>e</sup> midst of y<sup>e</sup> minister's Sermon, they would with a Loud voice cry out against them, calling them hirelings and deceivers, and they would say to y<sup>e</sup> People, they must turne to y<sup>e</sup> Light within, their teacher, and that *that was Christ within*. Thus, with many other raileing Judgeing and condemning words, they would frequently trouble us, Shakeing, trembling, or quakeing, (like persons in a fitt of y<sup>e</sup> ague), while they spake with a screaming voice, and would not cease untill they were carryed forth of y<sup>e</sup> Place, Pretending they were moved by y<sup>e</sup> Spirit to come and warne us. Thus Sathan, transforming himselfe like an Angell of light, strove against y<sup>e</sup> true followers of Jesus Christ;—these against y<sup>e</sup> Doctrine of our Lord Jesus,—and others against y<sup>e</sup> Discipline, as our friends called Presbyterians, Those of them that were bitter-spirited, or Rigid, they would vilifie our Ministry, and their Call; saying, they were not true Ministers, because not Called and Ordained in their way by a Classicall or Synodicall Assembly, and not brought up at y<sup>e</sup> university for such Literature.

And because we mett in houses, divers times in y<sup>e</sup> week-days, for y<sup>e</sup> Church-meeting, for to exercise y<sup>e</sup> Gifts of y<sup>e</sup> Church by way of conference, or for Prayer in Preparation to y<sup>e</sup> Lord's supper, once a month, or for Prayer on other speciall or Emergent Occasions: these things they did not then understand, or lesse Practise, therefore they spake Evill of us as Seducers. But under all these Calumnys, upon y<sup>e</sup> right hand and upon y<sup>e</sup> left, *This Church bore up* with Patience, Persevering severall years, and encreased.

AN<sup>o</sup>. 1658.—Att length, on 3d September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell, that tooke upon himselfe y<sup>e</sup> place of *Protector* of England, died, and his Sonn Richard was Proclaimed Protector. AN<sup>o</sup>. 1659.—And on y<sup>e</sup> 6 day of y<sup>e</sup> 3d month, or May, 1659, he was displaced, and y<sup>e</sup> Commonwealth (or old) Parliament, that Oliver dissolved, Ano. 1653, sate againe. Dureing all which time we had peace. (*Br. Terrill baptized*, 1658).

AN<sup>o</sup>. 1660.—But upon y<sup>e</sup> 29th day of y<sup>e</sup> 3d month, AN<sup>o</sup>. 1660,



when King *Charles II.* was brought from his Exile againe into y<sup>e</sup> Nation and to y<sup>e</sup> Crown, Then Sathan stirred up adversaries against us, and our *Trouble* or *Persecution* began. And then our friends of y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterian party were turned out of their Publique Places as well as we. Then those who had preached against us for meeting in Private houses, they were faine to meet in Private houses as we had, and did doe. For then, when our Pastor, or Teacher, Mr. Ewins, was turned out of those Publique places called Nicolas and Christchurch, (then) we first mett every Lord's day at our Pastour's house in y<sup>e</sup> Castle,<sup>35</sup> and there we continued a long time; but being straitened for roome, we took a large Place or Hall, towards y<sup>e</sup> end of Broadmead, called y<sup>e</sup> Fryars,<sup>36</sup> which formerly had been some Chapell; and there we Continued, holding forth y<sup>e</sup> Gospell of God's Free grace by our Lord Jesus Christ.

And in y<sup>e</sup> 10 month 1660, Orders come that all above 16 years of age must take y<sup>e</sup> *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*; which many scrupled to doe, because of y<sup>e</sup> *Extensiveness* of some words in y<sup>e</sup> Oath of Allegiance; as the words *Whatsoever* and *otherwise*. Whereupon y<sup>e</sup> *Brethren* only of our and Brother Hynam's congregation mett together, and discoursed our Judgments, and searched y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures, concerning our dutie and subjection to Magistrates; in which we all agreed, Concerning *Civill* matters they ought to be revered and obeyed. And to give them some assurance of it we drew up in Writeing our sense, and in what tearmes we could engage ourselves; which was Consonant to y<sup>e</sup> Scripture, and we did judge it as full as y<sup>e</sup> Oath of Allegiance; which we sent by two messengers to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor of y<sup>e</sup> Citty, who then was *Sr Henry Creswick*. He sent y<sup>e</sup> same writeing up to y<sup>e</sup> King and Councill, and ordered us to be lett alone for some time, until he had answer from above; which within a month came, and was that we must take y<sup>e</sup> Oath according to y<sup>e</sup> letter of y<sup>e</sup> Law, and not in other words. But Sir Henry telling us they did not require us to oblige ourselves no further than y<sup>e</sup> Scripture did require of us, whereupon divers members of both congregations tooke it. But some others, though they held an Oath for y<sup>e</sup> end of Controversie to be lawfull, yet were not then satisfied to take a

<sup>35</sup> Castle. John Ewin's house was in an area exempt from civil jurisdiction and attracted not only those seeking freedom for worship but also vagabonds, beggars and thieves of the city (*Latimer*, p. 43). The Castle was eventually pulled down and by 1656 various Castle areas had passed to Bristol citizens. John Knowles who was an Independent and also a minister at the Cathedral took over part of the Military House and gardens, which he later transferred to Thomas Goldney, a prosperous Quaker grocer in the neighbourhood. It is probable that Ewin's house was situated in this quarter.

<sup>36</sup> Fryars. An article in the *BGAS* Vol. 55, pp. 159ff, gives full details of the history and development of the "Black Friars" property. Both Underhill and Haycroft in their editions still claim that some part of the building was standing at the times they wrote.

Promissary Oath. And soe in Peace we bare one with another, them that did, and them that did not. Soe that trouble passed over.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 15th of y<sup>e</sup> 11 month January, 1660, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Sir Henry Creswick, sent his Eldest Serjeant with y<sup>e</sup> King's Proclamation<sup>37</sup> to our Pastor, Mr. Ewins, and forbade him to preach in his owne house. So having got y<sup>e</sup> Chapell called y<sup>e</sup> Fryars, there he preached as aforesaid; and a greate number of People came constantly to hear him, where for some time we were quiett, but not without many threats.

An<sup>o</sup>. 1661.—And upon y<sup>e</sup> 25 of June, An<sup>o</sup>. 1661, Mr. Ewins was called before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor for preaching at y<sup>e</sup> Fryars, and charged not to preach. But, as formerly, he continued in y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, untill, y<sup>e</sup> 27 of y<sup>e</sup> 5th month following, he was taken up at y<sup>e</sup> Fryars by one Adams, a serjeant of y<sup>e</sup> Train-bands to Capt. Rich; and soe, with a guard of Musketeers, was carryed away to y<sup>e</sup> Marshall's, which then was at Joyners, in Christmas Street, where Mr. Ewins remained untill y<sup>e</sup> 12 of August following. Then he was Committed to his owne house as Prisoner; butt on y<sup>e</sup> 25th day of y<sup>e</sup> Seventh month following, Sept., he was discharged in open Sessions, and then preached as formerly at y<sup>e</sup> Fryars againe. (And during his Imprisonment and Confinement, y<sup>e</sup> meeting was still carried on by y<sup>e</sup> Brethren of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation). And y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> Lord goes on; y<sup>e</sup> Gospell in its Purity without y<sup>e</sup> Impositions and Inventions of men is preached; y<sup>e</sup> Gospell freely held forth to Sinners; some Members are added, some y<sup>e</sup> Lord tooke to himselfe. Whereupon y<sup>e</sup> Church tooke it into Consideration to Choose some new Officers, and to Ordaine y<sup>e</sup> Pastor, Mr. Ewins, by laying on of hands, and y<sup>e</sup> Elders and Deacons.

An<sup>o</sup>. 1662.—After severall dayes for Consideration, and Election of Persons fitt for each place, y<sup>e</sup> Church Mett by appoyntment

<sup>37</sup> The proclamation was made on Jan 10th immediately following the arrest of Thomas Venner. For a full discussion see, L. F. Brown, *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*, 1912, London; and H. N. Brailsford, *The Levellers and the English Revolution*, 1961, London. Brailsford traces a direct link between the Levellers and Venner's supporters and that "though it can be traced back to the years of the Interregnum," Fifth Monarchism became "a mass movement only after the failures of the Levellers.... The followers of Thomas Venner, the wine-cooper from New England, were troopers cashiered from the New Model Army, and there was not an officer among them. The fifty men who twice swept through the streets of the city in the first year of the Restoration, a tornado of valour and faith so furious that only overwhelming numbers could check them ... were sure when they hurled themselves on the kingdom of Charles II that King Jesus would appear in person to lead their assaults." (pp. 636-7). Following Venner's rising the proclamation commanded all Anabaptists, Quakers and other sectaries not to meet at unusual hours or in great numbers; to worship in their own parish vicinity; and if they were apprehended doing these things they were to be charged with "riotous and unlawful assembly". As a result of this proclamation it is estimated that 400 persons were committed to Newgate, Bristol.

upon y<sup>e</sup> 24th day of y<sup>e</sup> 4th month, or June, Anno 1662, for setting aparte y<sup>e</sup> persons chosen, by fasting and Prayer. Upon which day Brother Thomas Ellis was sett aparte for y<sup>e</sup> worke of a Ruleing Elder in y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, as added to Brother Robert Purnell in y<sup>e</sup> same worke; and Aged Brother Spurgion was sett aparte to the office of a Deacon, as added to Brother Simpson; and sister West, a widdow woman, was set apart to y<sup>e</sup> office or work of a Widdow or Deaconesse in y<sup>e</sup> Church; and Mr. Ewins, only before stood as a Teacher in y<sup>e</sup> Church, was this day, By fasting and Prayer, now solemnly sett aparte as Pastor to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation. Butt y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance of laying on of hands was not imposed or Practized, (though intended), through y<sup>e</sup> backwardnesse of one of y<sup>e</sup> Ministers then present, namely, Mr. Blinman, that somewhat scrupled his Call to it in Point of Order, not being a Member with us, (Though it might have been done by y<sup>e</sup> request of y<sup>e</sup> Church for his assistance), which afterward he repented that he obstructed that it was Omitted; and soe they were all abovesaid sett aparte only by fasting and Prayer. Soe they were thus set aparte at Bro. Robert Purnell's house, on James' Back, in this Cittie of Bristoll. They being thus commended to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and to y<sup>e</sup> worke, and y<sup>e</sup> church againe settled in Order as an Army with Banners in y<sup>e</sup> worke of Christ, they proceed; and y<sup>e</sup> Gospell is by them still held forth at y<sup>e</sup> same place, Called y<sup>e</sup> Fryars, Publiquely Every Lord's day; and Every fifth day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke, y<sup>e</sup> Church kept on their Ancient meeting of Conference, which was not carried on by one, but divers members of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation spake to a Question from some place of Scripture.

But Sathan, Envying y<sup>e</sup> state of y<sup>e</sup> Church and progresse of y<sup>e</sup> gospell, Stirrs up his Instruments, that not long after Mr. Ewins was taken up againe, on y<sup>e</sup> 26th of October, or y<sup>e</sup> *Eighth Month*, Anno 1662, by Captain John Floyd, coming to y<sup>e</sup> Fryars on a Lord's day, with Lieut. Smart and others; soe againe with a guard of Musketeers was led away to y<sup>e</sup> Guildhall, and from thence sent away to y<sup>e</sup> marshall's, which was then in Wine Street, where he continued a Prissoner for y<sup>e</sup> Lord, untill y<sup>e</sup> 13th of y<sup>e</sup> Ninth Month or November following, and then was sent home by Mr. Cale, a Major.

AN<sup>o</sup>. 1663.—Then y<sup>e</sup> Church had againe rest; and y<sup>e</sup> Gospell preached againe by Mr. Ewins as soone as forth of Prisson. And he Continued in y<sup>e</sup> worke in said Publique place, y<sup>e</sup> Fryars, untill Sr John Knight (which like a Tyrant began upon us as soon as he) came to be Mayor. For y<sup>e</sup> same weeke that he entered his Mayoralty, upon y<sup>e</sup> 3d of October, 1663, he sent for Mr. Ewins to his house, and Charged him not to preach. But Mr. Ewins tould him he must discharge his duty towards y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and therefore in that thing he durst not obey him, but y<sup>e</sup> Lord; and accordingly y<sup>e</sup> next day Preacht as formerly at y<sup>e</sup> Fryars. And Sr John Knight, the Mayor, sent his Serjeants, Jones y<sup>e</sup> Sawyer, with others, upon y<sup>e</sup>

4th day of October, An<sup>o</sup>. 1663, and put him in Prisson by Newgate, and one Mr. Patience, a minister then in this Citty, belonging to y<sup>e</sup> other Baptized Congregation.

In y<sup>e</sup> afternoone y<sup>e</sup> Mayor sent a warrant for Brother Edw. Terrill, (who was then Preaching to y<sup>e</sup> People), to bring him (and Br. Simpson) before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor; but haveing notice of their Coming with y<sup>e</sup> officers, when they were near, y<sup>e</sup> Elders Desired said Brother Terrill to forbear speaking, and sitt downe. Soe he did. And when y<sup>e</sup> officers came in he went through y<sup>e</sup> People, that y<sup>e</sup> officers found him not. But y<sup>e</sup> next day he was fetcht from his house, and brought before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, with Mr. Ewins, Mr. Patience, and Bro. Simpson; and because they would not give bond to y<sup>e</sup> Good behaviour, they were all imprissoned at y<sup>e</sup> then Jayler's house over against Newgate, and there they lay untill y<sup>e</sup> Sessions, about a quarter of a year after. Only Brother Terrill they released after they had kept him in Prisson a fortnight, taking Sureties for his appearance at said next Sessions. And they were all Indicted of a Riott, and then tryed, and as y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Sr John, ordered it, were found Guilty of a Riott at Common law, and soe fined; Mr. Ewins fined 50*l.*, and Brother Simpson fined 50*l.*, but Broth. Terrill they fined but 5*l.*; which they would not Pay, and soe were sentenced to Lie in prisson untill they paid it.

But after Brother Terrill had layen there awhile, many people of quality in y<sup>e</sup> Citty Cried out against Sr John for his keepeing him in Prisson; but y<sup>e</sup> Mayor told them, y<sup>e</sup> reason why they put soe little a fine upon Bro. Terrill was because he should not goe to Prisson. But he would not pay it, but lay in Prisson about a quarter of a year. Then some friend paid it, and they released him; but kept Mr. Ewins in Prisson all y<sup>e</sup> time that Sr John was Mayor; and then about 3 dayes before their time was out they seemed a little Plyable, that if somebody would lay downe y<sup>e</sup> 50*l.* for Mr. Ewins, they would be moderate. Soe Captain Deane and Broth. Ellis laid it downe, and y<sup>e</sup> Sheriffs, Bradway and Streamer, took forty shillings of it, and returned y<sup>e</sup> rest.

An<sup>o</sup>. 1664.—Soe that upon y<sup>e</sup> 26 day of September, 1664, Mr. Ewins (and Bro. Simpson) were released out of Prisson. Which long and tedious Prissonment so decayed our Pastor, and his straining his voice in Prisson to Preach, (which he would Every Lord's day) that y<sup>e</sup> People that gathered together under y<sup>e</sup> Prisson walls might hear, he being about 4 pair of stairs high from them, that when he came out of Prisson, after y<sup>e</sup> first sermon he preached abroad, he fainted away, and declined continually, That it hastened his dayes.

Thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord bare up y<sup>e</sup> Church, that they still mett, and Contented themselves with meane Gifts. But by y<sup>e</sup> Act of Banishment that came forth in May, 1664, we were soe followed and hunted with Officers and Serjeants that we could not keepe our Publique place, y<sup>e</sup> Fryars, but, by reason thereof, were forced to

leave it, and meet more Privately. Then we mett frequently at Brother Ellis's house, Every Lord's day. But meeting one Lord's day at one Mr. Yeats' house, a Baker, in Maryporte Street, y<sup>e</sup> house was besett with y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Mr. Lawford, and Sr John, with other Aldermen and officers, (being informed of our meeting there by one Tyler, a Mealman in that street). They demaund Entrance; but y<sup>e</sup> door being kept fast they caused Iron Bars and a sledge to be brought, and soe forced open y<sup>e</sup> door; which we understanding, Mr. Ewins, being in Exercise, concluded short in prayer, and soe ended. And, by y<sup>e</sup> People's desire, Mr. Ewins and some other men were desired to goe into a Back part of y<sup>e</sup> house, and soe conveyed into another. Then y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and Sr John Knight, came up into y<sup>e</sup> roome where we mett, and sent some to Prisson; and Br. Terrill, with a minister, going forth at a Back door, was apprehended, and brought before Sr John, who tooke his word to appear next day. And when before them, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Sr John would have sent him to prisson, but Br. Terrill put them to prove matter of fact. And their Witnesses not being full enough to prove him in y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, he gott off, and escaped imprissonment in Order to Banishment, which Act was then in force and prosecuted. Sister Fry was sent to Prisson at Newgate for a month, being her first conviction.

Thus we were hunted by y<sup>e</sup> Nimrods, but y<sup>e</sup> Lord hid us many Lord's dayes, at Brother Ellis's in Corne street, that we had some peace though y<sup>e</sup> meeting was Numerous. Yett we were assaulted there many a time by men, but Saved by God. One time, upon a week-day meeting, (which was likewise there for a long time), a guard of Musketeers was sent for to take us into Custody, and then, being in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, we were Conveyed into a Cellar underground, that went into Ballance street; and soe we escaped, and they disappointed, through y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

Another time, at Bro. Ellis's, upon a Lord's day, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Aldermen with officers beset y<sup>e</sup> house, and at last broake open y<sup>e</sup> Back door, and soe came in; Butt in y<sup>e</sup> meantime our Brother haveing before contrived by a greate Cupboard to hide a Garratt door, he sent up most of y<sup>e</sup> men out of y<sup>e</sup> Meeting into y<sup>e</sup> said Garratt, and soe we were Concealed. But y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Sr John sent away Thirty-one of y<sup>e</sup> Members and Auditors to Prisson, to Bridewell, for a Month, upon their first Conviction for Banishment.

Another time, at Brother Ellis's, we were upon a Lord's day besett with a guard of Soldiers, who came to search y<sup>e</sup> house for a Meeting, but we were againe Concealed. And severall other times we were assaulted there, and our Brother Ellis under greate trouble divers times for Entertaining of us; and at last they Imprissoned him at Newgate for a Month, upon his first Conviction for banishment. And y<sup>e</sup> year before, he was imprissoned with divers other Sober good men and Eminent in y<sup>e</sup> City at y<sup>e</sup> Marshall's, in

Wine Street; but y<sup>e</sup> Lord helped him, that he boare up under all, and like a Gaius and Obed-edom he entertained y<sup>e</sup> Arke in his house frequently.

3. *Blazing Stars*.—In this year, 1664, there were Three Blazing Starrs seen in England, in four Months' Space. Y<sup>e</sup> first starr appeared in y<sup>e</sup> Beginning of December, 1664, and continued about 14 days, and then disappeared. Y<sup>e</sup> Second appeared in y<sup>e</sup> latter end of December, 1664, and Continued till about y<sup>e</sup> latter end of y<sup>e</sup> 11th month, January, following. Y<sup>e</sup> third Blazing Star appeared in y<sup>e</sup> latter end of y<sup>e</sup> first month, March, 1665, at 4 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and Continued till y<sup>e</sup> Mornings Swallowed it up with day. This was noted and recorded by Mr. Ewins;<sup>38</sup> alsoe by Mr. Ewins figuring down which way y<sup>e</sup> taile of Each Starr lay. Y<sup>e</sup> first Starr's taile lay West north-West, by my apprehension, which might point out England, (which lyeth so off y<sup>e</sup> Continent); and God's Judgments were sore upon it Presently, by y<sup>e</sup> Greate Plague that followed in y<sup>e</sup> An<sup>o</sup>. 1665, and by destroying y<sup>e</sup> Metropolitan Citty by fire, An<sup>o</sup>. 1666, and by Warr with y<sup>e</sup> Dutch, wherein we, this nation, sustained greate losse. I gather, (by said Mr. Ewin's figure of y<sup>e</sup> said Starrs), that y<sup>e</sup> second Starr's Taile lay East and by North-East, which might point out Holland and Germany. And did not there follow sore desolations upon Holland, and y<sup>e</sup> lower part of y<sup>e</sup> Emperors Country? Y<sup>e</sup> Third Starr's Taile, I perceive (by as aforesaid), lay South South-East; and doth not that Point out Fraunce and Spaine? but Fraunce Especially, that it may be y<sup>e</sup> Lord showed us, should taste of y<sup>e</sup> Third Cup, (after England and Holland); and by y<sup>e</sup> manner of y<sup>e</sup> Third Starr's appearing and abideing, who knows but it shows that their, viz. Fraunce's trouble shall continue untill y<sup>e</sup> daylight of y<sup>e</sup> Protestant Interest appear, and breake forth, to y<sup>e</sup> daylight of God's fulfilling his glorious promises in y<sup>e</sup> Holy Scriptures, to a visible manifestation of God's hastening y<sup>e</sup> Pulling downe of y<sup>e</sup> Papal Power and y<sup>e</sup> Pope? Amen; soe come, Lord Jesus.

But to a Brief Narration and History of God's leading this Church of Christ. Soe that, by reason of this Act for Banishment, we were faine to move from house to house; and one Lord's day, of y<sup>e</sup> 11th month, Jan., An<sup>o</sup>. 1664, a Meeting being at Brother Terrill's, then living in Corn Street, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's Sergeants came up and dissolved y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, carryed away one Mr. Zephaniah Smith and 3 or 4 Londoners before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor. Y<sup>e</sup> Minister, Mr. Smith, was sent to Newgate Prisson, and, he being a stranger in a manner here, then y<sup>e</sup> next weeke they released him, upon his telling them he was to be gone out of towne, and they chargeing him to departe in a few dayes.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 7th of y<sup>e</sup> 12 month, An<sup>o</sup>. 1664, at y<sup>e</sup> Close of a day of Prayer, upon y<sup>e</sup> Consideration of severall persons in y<sup>e</sup> Congrega-

<sup>38</sup> There is a copy of Ellis's calculations drawn in the actual records, which is not reproduced here.

tion not walkeing orderly, some remisse in their duty of Assembling with y<sup>e</sup> Church by reason of these troubles, y<sup>e</sup> Church Appointed a Monthly meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren only, to Consider of Persons or things amisse in y<sup>e</sup> Congregation; and soe Appointed y<sup>e</sup> first sixth day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke, or Friday, that should happen in any month; and afterward it was Altered to y<sup>e</sup> first Second day in y<sup>e</sup> month.

An<sup>o</sup>. 1665.—In y<sup>e</sup> 4th month, 1665, y<sup>e</sup> Church Ordered that Brother Terrill should Ingrosse all y<sup>e</sup> Members' names in Parchment, and that they be called over allwayes at Breaking Bread, to see who doth omitt their duty.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 4th of y<sup>e</sup> 6 month, 1665, it was Resolved and Ordered, that once a Month for y<sup>e</sup> future there should be Constantly a *Select* meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Members only, to stay after others were departed from y<sup>e</sup> Publique Exercise, (which might be that Lord's day fortnight after we breake bread); to this end,—that there might be an Opportunity for y<sup>e</sup> Pastor, and for any other Brother, to minister a word proper to Church Members for Information, or Exhortation to their duty, or Reproofe, &c., that we might more oftener see y<sup>e</sup> whole Church together.

Y<sup>e</sup> 3d of y<sup>e</sup> 9th month, 1665, it was determined, (after dealeing, and severall months' waiteing), that these 6 members, namely, John Evans, John Hicks and John Harris that went to New England, with sister More, sister Stoakes, and Martha Moggs, be declared no Members, and to be looked upon as persons not to have full Communion with us; some for neglecting their duty of Assembling through fear, some for Evills in their Conversation, 3 of them.

In y<sup>e</sup> ninth month, 1665, there came a troope of horse to this City as reported on purpose to Suppresse y<sup>e</sup> Meetings; and they were very abusive to those Meetings they found.

In y<sup>e</sup> 11th month, 1665, by reason of y<sup>e</sup> Decease of one of y<sup>e</sup> Deacons, namely, Brother Spurgeon, y<sup>e</sup> Church choose Brother Wm. Dickason to be a Deacon, assistant with Bro. Simpson and Br. Tho. Rieves.

In this year 1665 we had many disturbances, and divers Imprissoned; but y<sup>e</sup> Lord helped us through it.

An<sup>o</sup>. 1666.—In y<sup>e</sup> Beginning of this year, 1666, this City of Bristoll was visited with that Judgment of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, y<sup>e</sup> Plague, which struck Terror in y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates; and through y<sup>e</sup> moderation of Aldm. John Willoughby, then Mayor, who began a stop to Persecution, by which means y<sup>e</sup> Lord ordained us much peace, that many this year were added to y<sup>e</sup> Church. And there appeared, seemingly, a spirit of life *Entering* into y<sup>e</sup> people not of y<sup>e</sup> Church, more unanimously resolved for *Meetings* separate from y<sup>e</sup> worship of y<sup>e</sup> world, than in some few years past had been. And y<sup>e</sup> Lord dealt very mercifull and gracious with y<sup>e</sup> City, that y<sup>e</sup> Plague abated and stopt; being not soe greate as feared and threatened. *Laus Deo.*

SISTER VANATTURNE in y<sup>e</sup> 4th Month, An<sup>o</sup>. 1666, was Proposed,

spoken with, and Joyned to y<sup>e</sup> Church.

BROTHER JOHN FRY, in y<sup>e</sup> 6th Month, 1666, was Proposed, spoken with, and Joyned to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation.

On y<sup>e</sup> 3d day of y<sup>e</sup> 7th Month, 1666, began that dreadful fire of London<sup>39</sup> (y<sup>e</sup> *Metropolis* of England), and consumed y<sup>e</sup> greatest parte of that Citty. By y<sup>e</sup> wicked hands of that blood thirsty people called *Papist*, (as afterwards it was discovered) By which means, for want of Publique places called Churches, they being burnte down, y<sup>e</sup> People mett in great Aboundance to hear our friends, called Nonconformist; and soe their *Meetings* became very Publique, and have remained soe Ever since in *London*, about these 10 years. And because y<sup>e</sup> Separates in London had liberty many partes of this Nation were Influenced therby, that we had alsoe liberty for about four years after in some good Measure, through y<sup>e</sup> Lord's goodnesse in fulfilling y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures and promises to us.

BROTHER DANIELL GWILLIAM, upon y<sup>e</sup> 8th month, 1666, and BR. JEREMIAH COURTNY, were both Proposed, spoken with, and Joyned to this Congregation; and y<sup>e</sup> Right hand of fellowship given unto them to be members thereof, as to others.

BR. JOHN MORGAN, JAMES BLAND, in y<sup>e</sup> 9th month, 1666, with SISTER DAVIS, now SAUNDERS, and S. HUGHS were all four Proposed, spoken with, and Joyned to this Congregation as members thereof.

SISTER TURTLE, S. BRIDGET HILL, S. JUDITH WATKINS, now *Morgan*, in y<sup>e</sup> 10th month, An<sup>o</sup>. 1666, were Propounded, spoken with, and Joyned Members to this Congregation.

BR. RICH. DENNIS, in y<sup>e</sup> 12 Month, 1666, was Propounded, and with BR. THOMAS JONES, ROBERT JONES, and WILLIAM EVANS, they were spoken with, and Joyned to this Congregation in y<sup>e</sup> month following; being y<sup>e</sup> first Month, 1666.

S. BROWN, with S. BIRD, on the *quay*, were, on ye 24th of y<sup>e</sup> said first Month, 1666, (being y<sup>e</sup> last day of y<sup>e</sup> year) propounded; and S. ANN OWEN, S. SIMMONDS, propounded on 3 mo., 26 day, Anno 1667; and BR. PEIRCE, with S. MARGARET STERRY, they propounded on y<sup>e</sup> 2d of y<sup>e</sup> 4 month, 1667. All which 6 were spoken with, and Joyned Members to this Congregation, in y<sup>e</sup> said 4th month, Anno 1667.

Before this Time, our brother Purnell, y<sup>e</sup> *Eldest Ruleing Elder*, being in y<sup>e</sup> 9th Month last deceased, y<sup>e</sup> Church had severall times under consideration, who to Choose and make a Ruleing Elder in his Stead. At last, upon y<sup>e</sup> 3d of y<sup>e</sup> 12th month, (being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day), Anno 1666, two of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren were Proposed, that one of them might be chosen, namely, Brother Rich. White, and Brother Edward Terrill, (which were desired to departe; and accordingly they went to their homes). Then, it being put to the Vote, all y<sup>e</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The fire of London was in September 1666, and the reference makes it clear that the compilation of the *Records* which began in 1672 was still going on in 1676.



Brethren were for Broth. Terrill, except y<sup>e</sup> two Principall, viz., Mr. Ewins, Pastor, and Brother Ellis, (y<sup>e</sup> only ruleing elder left). These were for Brother White to be Chosen; but seeing y<sup>e</sup> Election did not go according to their mindes, They tooke hold of a Motion that was made by a Minister there present, (namely, Bro. Wm. Thomas, Pastor of y<sup>e</sup> Church of Lanttrishion, in Wales), That he advised y<sup>e</sup> church should Choose both, and to that all y<sup>e</sup> Brethren agreed. Upon that, y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day following, in another Meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren, they settled that Conclusion, to present two Elders to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, to be joynd in office with Broth. Ellis. So upon y<sup>e</sup> 24th of y<sup>e</sup> said 12 Month, 1666, being two weekes after, Broth. White and Broth. Terrill were proposed to y<sup>e</sup> whole Congregation as Persons soe Chosen to y<sup>e</sup> office of Ruleing Elders, if they were minded to Concurr therein for to Elect and call them to y<sup>e</sup> said worke; to which y<sup>e</sup> whole Church agreed. And then they appoint that y<sup>e</sup> 6th day of y<sup>e</sup> first month, 1666, following to be y<sup>e</sup> day to sett them aparte, by fasting and prayer, to y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> Lord as *Ruleing Elders*.

AN<sup>o</sup>. 1667.—Upon y<sup>e</sup> 6th of y<sup>e</sup> first Month, AN<sup>o</sup>. 1666, according to y<sup>e</sup> former conclusion, were these Two Brethren, Richard White and Edward Terrill, sett aparte by Prayer and fasting to be ruleing Elders in this Church, (or at least for Tryall). There were present Two Ministers besides our Pastor. First, y<sup>e</sup> Pastor declaring to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> day, it was by him desired that y<sup>e</sup> Brethren with y<sup>e</sup> whole Church would signifie their consent, if it were soe their mindes, by their Silence; which they did. Afterwards y<sup>e</sup> Pastor declared to y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, if any were (either Brother or Sister) dissatisfied with either of y<sup>e</sup> Persons, or any particular in either, it was desired they should show their dissatisfaction by their Standing up; (which none did). Then it was desired likewise by y<sup>e</sup> Pastor, that those two brethren Elected would show their acceptance by their Standing up; which (after some pause) they did. Thus being Elected for y<sup>e</sup> office, They are recommended to y<sup>e</sup> worke in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> Lord by Three Ministers. Y<sup>e</sup> Pastor, Mr. Ewins, began y<sup>e</sup> day, and closed it againe about y<sup>e</sup> 4th hour; soe soone, by reason some were to be Baptized that Evening—some that propounded to Joyne to y<sup>e</sup> Church, and some that were members before, namely,

Mr. Jenings, a minister,  
John Fry,  
Jeremiah Courtnay,  
John Morgan,  
Richard Dennis,  
John Prichard,  
Robert Jones,

Thomas Jones,  
Wm. Evans,  
James Bland,  
Mrs. Davis,  
Mrs. Hill,  
Margaret Williams,  
Judith Watkins.

These Ten men and four women were all 14 *Baptized* together,

one after another, y<sup>e</sup> 6th day of y<sup>e</sup> first month, 1666, in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, at *Baptist Mill*,<sup>40</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> River, by Mr. Thomas, Minister.

*Here behould y<sup>e</sup> Miraculous hand and worke of y<sup>e</sup> Lord.*

Most of these Persons now Baptized, had neglected and omitted their duty, (after they were convinced of it), all y<sup>e</sup> Winter, for fear of y<sup>e</sup> Cold; and then, about y<sup>e</sup> Beginning of February, or y<sup>e</sup> 12 month, it happened to be fine, warm weather; about which time they Pitcht upon this day to Passe under that Ordinance. And by reason our Pastor, by a fall that he received after he came forth of Prisson, had a paine that did use to take him in y<sup>e</sup> nature of a *Sciatica*, it was doubted for him to stand soe long in y<sup>e</sup> Water might encrease his said distemper; therefore y<sup>e</sup> Brethren of y<sup>e</sup> Church sent for Mr. Thomas, of Wales, pastor of a Church at Llantrission, to be y<sup>e</sup> Administrator.

And y<sup>e</sup> Lord in his wise Providence so Ordered it, That when he came, (according to y<sup>e</sup> day Appointed), it was such Extreme Cold weather, y<sup>e</sup> like had not been all That winter before, for Exceeding high and sharp pierceing *Wind, Frost, and Snow*. It was very violent, though y<sup>e</sup> Snow not very deepe, but y<sup>e</sup> Wind and Frost so much, that one of y<sup>e</sup> women to be Baptized, in goeing to y<sup>e</sup> place through y<sup>e</sup> Meadows, her Handkerchiefe received some wet, being about her Neck, was frozen; and a distemper upon her in such abundance, that her Maid that waited upon her, being only Privy to it, tould her if she went into y<sup>e</sup> Water she would not come forth alive. Alsoe another, Mr. Jennings, y<sup>e</sup> Minister, pained with y<sup>e</sup> Tooth-ache soe great, that his face was very much swelled, bound up, and by reason wherof had not been out of his house near a weeke before, and that day very ill with it. Another of y<sup>e</sup> men about a weeke before sprained his legge; not able to goe, was carryed upon a horse to y<sup>e</sup> place. Another man of them that was very weakly, thinn, and Consumptive, y<sup>e</sup> relations of whom were very averse to y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance. Wherefore some did fear y<sup>e</sup> Issue, seeing y<sup>e</sup> terrible sharpnesse of y<sup>e</sup> season. But y<sup>e</sup> Persons themselves that were to passe under y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance, Acted faith in y<sup>e</sup> Lord; and because y<sup>e</sup> Administrator was come so farr on purpose, according to appointment, they would not deferr it any longer.

And y<sup>e</sup> Lord, to declare his power, did, as it were, worke a *Miracle*, to give a President to others that should fear y<sup>e</sup> Coldnesse of any season to doe his will; that y<sup>e</sup> *Lord Preserved* them all; and not so much as one *Ill*, but rather better by it; and are all alive to this day, being about 10 years since, to speake of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's then goodnesse. Though some would faine have been then

<sup>40</sup> Baptist Mills. For further references see Index. The name has nothing to do with Baptist origins. A map of the eastern edge of the city in 1609 shows the area by this title, and it is a development of the name Bagpath Mills, which dates from as early as 1480. (*Latimer*, p. 239)

spectators, but they were afraid to goe, by reason it was such Extreme piercing weather, and continued soe for 3 days together, that those adversaries that heard of it after it was done, Looked upon y<sup>e</sup> People as madd, that they would Adventure on such a worke at such a season. *Therefore from all, Praise, Praise, Praise, and glory be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord.*

ANNO 1667.—Upon y<sup>e</sup> 5 day of y<sup>e</sup> 2d month, Anno 1667, in Consideration of our Pastor's illnesse since he came forth of Prisson, and Infirmities increasing upon him, being above fifty years of age, y<sup>e</sup> Brethren and Pastor moved, that Brother Jenings might be chosen a Teacher to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, to Ease our Pastor sometimes, that he might not preach soe often as he did, which was sometimes 5, and usually 4 times every weeke. And Mr. Ewins moved, that Brother *Jenings*, for y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid reasons of his infirmities), might be *Administrator* of y<sup>e</sup> *Ordinance of Baptisme* to y<sup>e</sup> church, to be ready to y<sup>e</sup> Administration of it as often as Persons desired it, that they might not be delayed, but admitted Orderly.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 17 day of y<sup>e</sup> 4th Month, 1667, Mr. Ewins was served with a Processe<sup>41</sup> to appear at y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Court, but went not.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 20th of said 4th Month, 1667, our Pastor, Mr. Ewins, was sent for before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Sr Thomas Langton, and other deputie Lieuts., about a letter that was directed to be left at his house which they stopt at y<sup>e</sup> Post.<sup>42</sup> And because he would not departe y<sup>e</sup> Citty, they, through Sr Henry Creswick, sent him to Prisson, to Lawford's, y<sup>e</sup> Marshall, by Frog Lane; where they kept him untill y<sup>e</sup> 20th of July, y<sup>e</sup> 5th month, then sent for him, and bound him with Sureties to appear at Sessions, but never called.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 18th of 5 month, 1667, these Members following were baptized by Mr. Thomas, then being in Towne; viz., Brother Daniell Gwilliam, aged Bro. Peirce, Sister Ann Owen, and S. Margaret Sterry.

Through y<sup>e</sup> good hand of y<sup>e</sup> Lord to give us some rest, we againe take another Publick Meeting-place, upon y<sup>e</sup> 7th day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th month, 1667, at y<sup>e</sup> *Whitson Courte*,<sup>43</sup> (of Brother Ellis, whereto he had of late removed his habitation); it being a large warehouse, up one pair of Staires, which our said Brother Ellis had made very Commodious for y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation. And

<sup>41</sup> Processe, i.e., "to institute an action against another in law". (OED)

<sup>42</sup> Post. An interesting indication of the early postal services.

<sup>43</sup> Whitson Court. This was part of a much larger estate. A deed of September 1669, when Ellis borrowed £800 on mortgage, gives a description of the whole estate. There were three gardens, warehouses, and the sugar refinery. There was a tenement and court at the Western Gate, which was called Whitson Court; two plots called, the Cherry Orchard and the Liquorice Garden, and a number of other buildings. All the premises stood on the site of the former mansion house of St. James. (*Latimer*, pp. 350-1)

there for some years we mett, Lord's dayes and also week dayes, enjoying pretty much peace, But not without many threats and endeavours of some, one Elsworthy, like Sanballatts. But y<sup>e</sup> Building of God's house prospered there untill y<sup>e</sup> 3d mo. 1670.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 22 day of y<sup>e</sup> 10 Month, 1667, Sister Sandy was proposed, and afterwards Spoken with, and Joyned to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 2d of y<sup>e</sup> 12 Month, 1667, S. March was Proposed, spoken with y<sup>e</sup> 23d day, and afterwards added to y<sup>e</sup> Church.

In this 12 month, 1667, Brother Brag and Sister Moore, after divers times dealeing with them from y<sup>e</sup> Church, and long Patient waiteing their reforming their Conversation, and place in y<sup>e</sup> Church, they were both Ejected, by declaring them no members of this Congregation.

ANNO 1668.—Upon y<sup>e</sup> 15th of y<sup>e</sup> 12 month, 1668, Aged Mr. TEATHER was propounded to y<sup>e</sup> church, spoken with y<sup>e</sup> 2d of first month following, and afterwards *Baptized* in y<sup>e</sup> *River Froome*, though above 80 years of age, and Joyned Member to this Church.

BR. ROBERT BODENHAM upon y<sup>e</sup> 21 day of y<sup>e</sup> first Month, 1668, was proposed, and afterwards spoken with, and *Baptized*, and Joyned a Member to this said Congregation.

ANNO 1669.—S. MARTHA GRIFFIN in y<sup>e</sup> 3d Month, An<sup>o</sup>. 1669, Proposed to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, and therabout spoken with, and gave a good accompt for us to hope there was a true worke of God on her soule; but she was not then Received, For there was little done this year, by reason our Pastor, Mr. Ewins, declined very fast. But our publick meetings were Supplied by other Ministers during his weaknesse, which at last was soe greate that he kept his house and Chamber near 5 months.

ANNO 1670.—OUR PASTOR, BR. EWINS, having layen a greate while weake, he Departed this life in y<sup>e</sup> 2d Month, 1670, having faithfully served his Lord and Master Jesus Christ near towards 20 years in this City, in y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> Ministry; Preaching y<sup>e</sup> Gospell *Clearly of Free Grace* by faith in Christ Jesus. Wherein he Laboured abundantly, in y<sup>e</sup> Publick, and in his particular charge y<sup>e</sup> Congregation. And also would goe and preach to y<sup>e</sup> poore people in their *Almshouses* at Michael's Hill, and Lawford's Gate Almshouse once a fortnight in y<sup>e</sup> Morning; and in those times of liberty would for some convenient seasons sett up a Lecture, and preach at Bedminster and other places; and at other times, dureing y<sup>e</sup> Winter long Evenings, would keepe an *Expository* Lecture or Meeting at *T'Ewins* church, and sometimes at *Leonard's* church; besides his constant publick preaching, as he was one of y<sup>e</sup> City Lecturers, every 3d day, Tuesday, at Nicolas church, and Every 5th day (Thursday), at y<sup>e</sup> Church-meeting of Conference, and twice Every Lord's day constantly; besides many times a word to y<sup>e</sup> Church, after that those who were not members were departed, upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, at y<sup>e</sup> Church's *Select* meeting.

Thus, as one unwearied to serve y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus, he took all opportunityes doing good; insoemuch that many Ministers did admire him for his great diligent labours, and that he had alwayes variety of Matter; which, though he had not y<sup>e</sup> Originall tongues, yett God did indue him with greate grace, and a quick understanding in y<sup>e</sup> things of God and y<sup>e</sup> Gospell of our Lord Jesus, to y<sup>e</sup> winning and Converting many soules to Christ, and building and binding up y<sup>e</sup> broken-hearted. He was a man full of Selfe-denyall, and subdueing his Natural Temper; soe that he walked very lovely and holy in his Conversation, shewing patience where it required, and meeknesse toward all men; Visiting all his members Carefully, and searching into y<sup>e</sup> State of their Soules; and by some Ministers that were his familiars observed and said, they never saw him over merry nor over sad, But given to Prayer and Almsdeeds.

He was *Interred* in James's Yeard, y<sup>e</sup> 29th day of y<sup>e</sup> second month, Aprill An<sup>o</sup> Dom, 1670, Accompanied with many hundreds to y<sup>e</sup> Grave, y<sup>e</sup> like funerall not seen long before in Bristoll. He left soe good a Savour behind for faithfulness to Gode, and humility towards man, That his very chief Persecutor, (Sr Jo. Knight), said, he did believe he was gone to *Heaven*.

*Anno* 1670. The Lord having taken away our Pastor from y<sup>e</sup> Evill to come; for a Generall Persecution arose in y<sup>e</sup> next month after he deceased. In y<sup>e</sup> 10th of y<sup>e</sup> 3d month 1670, y<sup>e</sup> Act against Conventicles commenced, which was y<sup>e</sup> forfeiture of 20*l.* to be levied on every one that preached, for any one offence, and 20*l.* for y<sup>e</sup> house or ground where we mett; and five shillings y<sup>e</sup> first time, and ten shillings every time after y<sup>e</sup> first conviction for y<sup>e</sup> hearers; to be levied by Distresse upon y<sup>e</sup> persons convicted, their goods or Chattels. Which persecution was Generall over y<sup>e</sup> Church in y<sup>e</sup> Nation, Especiall where any in Office was willing to trouble, because there was 100*l.* fine upon y<sup>e</sup> Justice of peace, who, upon Information brought before him, would not prosecute. Which trouble was our seventh Persecution in Bristoll, since K. Charles II. returned:—

1. Y<sup>e</sup> first was in Sr Henry Creswick's year, An<sup>o</sup> 1660. Our Persecutions began.

2. Second persecution was in Ald. Cale's Mayoralty, An<sup>o</sup> 1661. About a month Pastor imprisoned.

3. Y<sup>e</sup> Third was by y<sup>e</sup> Deputy Lieutenants: began 26 October, An<sup>o</sup> 1662.

4. Y<sup>e</sup> fourth Persecution, like a violent Storme, began upon us in y<sup>e</sup> beginning of Sr John Knight's Mayoralty; and in 3d month foll. y<sup>e</sup> Act to Banish us came forth.

5. Y<sup>e</sup> fifth Persecution was by Ald. Lawford, in his year, 1664; both these coming together were very heavy upon us, for its continuance.

6. Y<sup>e</sup> Sixth Persecution arose in Sr Thomas Langton's year, An<sup>o</sup> 1666; so that

7. This, our Seventh Persecution, in Sr Robert Yeaman's year, began 10 day, 3d mo. 1670.

Y<sup>e</sup> first Lord's day after said 10th of 3d month, y<sup>e</sup> Informers from y<sup>e</sup> Bishop, (that was then one *Ironsides*) came upon us; and because we did not know which way they would begin upon us, we shutt our Publique Meeting-house door when we understood they were coming. Then they fetcht Constables and broake open y<sup>e</sup> door, came in and tooke our names, for which some of us were brought before y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates and Convicted. Then, against y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, we broake a wall up on high for a window, and put y<sup>e</sup> speaker in y<sup>e</sup> next house to stand and preach, wherby we heard him as well as if in y<sup>e</sup> roome with us. The Bishop's *Informers* come in againe, take our names; for which we were again brought before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and Convicted. So they did y<sup>e</sup> 3d Lord's day. And y<sup>e</sup> fourth Lord's day, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor himselfe, with his officers and some Aldm came upon us, and turned us out; but seeing they could not make us refraine our Meeting they Raised y<sup>e</sup> Train Bands every last day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, one band to keep us out of our places, and Nailed up our doors, and putt locks upon them; so they kept us out by force and power, That we were faine to meet in y<sup>e</sup> Lanes and highways for severall months.

Then *Brother Terrill* having moved his habitation from Corne street to his Garden house near Lawford's Gate, we had y<sup>e</sup> benefitt of being at his house untill we had obtained y<sup>e</sup> Mercy to have another Pastor; and y<sup>e</sup> Lord ordered it soe that Aldm John Knight, of y<sup>e</sup> Sugar-house, being Mayor, he did winke at our thus meeting, and was not ready to Receive every Information; wherby y<sup>e</sup> Lord gave us some rest there, untill y<sup>e</sup> 6 mo, 1671.

*Br Henry Ford*, upon y<sup>e</sup> 15th day of 3 mo, 1670, was Proposed to Joyne.

*Br Cornish*, upon y<sup>e</sup> 22 day of 3d mo, 1670, was proposed to Joyne.

In this year, 1670, our Pastor being deceased, y<sup>e</sup> Church did not break bread, (untill we had another Pastor,) yett kept up our monthly day of Prayer, as we used to doe before breaking of bread. And y<sup>e</sup> Church, though they had no Pastor, yett they did notwithstanding deale with Members that walked Irregular in their conversations; and they cast out some from amongst them, and Received in others to be members with them. Thus, having Ruling Elders, by them they carried on and managed y<sup>e</sup> *Church-Power*, and kept up all their meetings duly, only forbore *Breaking of Bread*, that holy Ordinance, till they had a Pastor, whose proper worke it is to Administer y<sup>e</sup> same.

*One Person cast out was Philip Sciphard*; who then being a member was, after divers times dealeing with, (according to y<sup>e</sup> *Rule of our Lord*) for his Scandalous walkeing in Excess of drinkeing, though he severall times Covered, Evaded, and Justified

himselfe for want of due proof. At last, (his Sinn that he lived in found him out); for it happened that two Brethren saw him overcome in drinke, and therefore at a Church-meeting, he being present, his Evils were laid before him, and by y<sup>e</sup> Eldest Ruleing Elder Brother Ellis, at his house, y<sup>e</sup> said Philip Sciphard was Cast out of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, in y<sup>e</sup> fifth month An<sup>o</sup> Dom. 1670.

*This Church* WANTING A PASTOR, *Brother Terrill* wrote a letter to that Eminent and worthy Servant of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, *Mr. Vavazor Powell*, Minister of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, who then was in London, to entreate him to use his Endeavour to help us with an *Able, Learned* minister, that might be our Pastor; telling him he had heard of one Mr. Hardcastle, not long before added to them, Mr. Jesse's people; whether he Judged him a fitt man for us, and whether he were free, and not sett aparte to office by them, that is, Mr. Jesse's Congregation; whether we might have him, or whether he knew of any other more fitt. Said Mr. Powell returned Answer to Bro. Terrill, that Mr. Hardcastle, he judged, would be very fitt for us if we could but obtaine him; and that he was not sett aparte by that Church to office as yett, But they had some such intentions, if they liked each other. Whereupon this Congregation wrote a letter to Mr. Tho. Hardcastle, (signed in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> whole church by Twelve of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren,) to come to us upon Tryall to be our Pastor; but then, Sathan in his Instruments rageing in London as well as here, Mr. Hardcastle was taken Preaching, and cast into prisson in London for six Months. We were therefore faine to waite that time out.

But Mr. Jesse's congregation was much troubled at our sending for him, and would not graunt him to us; whereupon there was much striveing and disputeing by letters Between this Congregation and that in London, dureing all y<sup>e</sup> time of his Imprissonment. They Laid or Charged us with sin For writing to Mr. Hardcastle, to come to us to be our Pastor; they argued he was a Member with them, and therefore they had a right in him more than we, soe that we ought not to endeavour to take him away from them. We, this Congregation, argued, Seeing he was not as yett sett aparte to Office by them he was free for us, or for any other Church of Christ, to Call him to Office; but if they already had Ordained him to Office, soe that he were sett aparte by them before, (we then had no more to say, nor should endeavour to take him from them;) But if they had not, Then Mr. Hardcastle was free, (If that he had not consented to their Motion and declared it), and might goe to serve Christ, upon y<sup>e</sup> Call of a Church, whersoever he thought he was Capable to doe most service; and to this Effect we argued. Y<sup>e</sup> Church here sett aparte, time after time, severall dayes of prayer in that behalfe; and y<sup>e</sup> Lord at last graunted us that Mercy, that they spared Mr. Hardcastle for one Month to come down and visit us, and soe to returne againe to them. So that in y<sup>e</sup> *Third Month*, Anno 1671, he came

down to us, and abode a Month, Preaching to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation.

Y<sup>e</sup> Church greatly likeing his gift, just as he was going away, upon y<sup>e</sup> 29th day of y<sup>e</sup> third Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1671, y<sup>e</sup> Elders with y<sup>e</sup> Brethren appointed a day of Prayer, and desired Mr. Hardcastle to be with y<sup>e</sup> Church that day, some parte of it.

Y<sup>e</sup> Congregation being on said day gathered together, wholly, except those out of Towne, it was proposed to them by y<sup>e</sup> Elders, whether, as y<sup>e</sup> Brethren for y<sup>e</sup> most parte did thinke him fitt to be their pastor, and could sitt downe under his Ministry, now, whether y<sup>e</sup> rest, with y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, were soe minded; to which all y<sup>e</sup> Brethren and Sisters declared their Consentaneous agreement, and their desires to Elect and Call him, y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, to be their Minister and Pastor. After some time spent in discourse about it, and findeing no Opposition, Then, to know y<sup>e</sup> Mindes of Every Individuall Member, by an Elder it was desired that Every member would make use of their Christian Liberty, that if any one did Dissent from y<sup>e</sup> Election, that they should speake, Every Brother for himself: Every Sister might speake to some brother to declare for her, or them, their dislike and their Reasons. But if none did so manifest their Dissent, but were all agreed, we should know it by their Silence; which for a good Space they were, and soe we concluded that. Then our Brother Terrill drew a Writeing for all y<sup>e</sup> Members to signe to, as their Call, to be delivered Mr. Hardcastle; which is in y<sup>e</sup> following Page.

*Memorandum.* B. CORNISH, B. HENRY FORD, and B. FRANCIS WHITEHEAD, and S. MARTHA GRIFFEN, before Spoken with, were All Joyned y<sup>e</sup> 21st day of this third Month, 1671.

*A COPPY of this Church's CALL to Mr. Tho. Hardcastle.*

*Wee, whose names are underwritten, together with y<sup>e</sup> rest of that Church of Christ (of which Mr. Thomas Ewins, lately deceased, was formerly Pastor,) being Assembled together, after seekeing y<sup>e</sup> Lord by Prayer, have Unanimously Elected and chosen you, (our honoured and dearly beloved brother in y<sup>e</sup> Lord,) Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, to be our Minister and Pastor, under our greate Shepherd, y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus Christ, According to his Holy Command in Sacred Scripture; to Administer his word and Gospell Ordinances unto us, To y<sup>e</sup> End we may yield all Sincere Obedience to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ who died at Jerusalem, and hath redeemed us to God by his blood, that in love we might serve him without fear in holinesse and Righteousnesse all y<sup>e</sup> dayes of our life. And therefore we, through Infinite and rich grace, haveing obtained that wonderfull Mercy to be a Church of Christ, and by him alone preserved unto this day, And conscious of our duty Recorded in 2 Cor. vi. 16, 17, 18, Matthew xviii. 20; Matt. xxviii. 18, 19; Acts ii. 41, 42; with Ephesians iv. from 3 to 16 verse;*



1 Corinth. xii. 28; Titus i. 5; with Acts xiv. 23; Acts vi. 5; and Acts xiii. 2, 3—Now, in Pursuance of this our Duty and priviledge, *Wee do hereby* Testifie and, declare our joynt and solemne *Call* to you, our dearly beloved brother, *Mr. Thomas Hardcastle* afore-said, to be our *Pastor*. Given under our hands y<sup>e</sup> 29th of y<sup>e</sup> 3d Month, An<sup>o</sup> Dom. 1671.

*Thomas Ellis*, Elder.  
Edward Terrill, Elder.  
Robert Simpson, Deacon.  
William Dickason, Deacon.  
Richard Teather.  
Jeremy Courtyny.  
Henry Pierce.  
Wm. Evans.  
Henry Ford.  
Robert Cornish.  
John Fry.  
Rich. Dennis.  
Daniell Gwilliam.  
Robert Jones.  
Dorathy Hazzard.  
Joane Ewins.  
Ann Ellis, senior.  
Martha Griffen.  
Mary Baldwin.  
Elizabeth Tanner.  
Sarah Willett.  
Ann Hughes.  
Margaret Webb.  
Sybble Marsh.  
Jane Fry.  
Martha Tilly.  
Mary Jennings.  
Mary Bird.  
Ann Jones, jun.  
Margaret Wms.  
Margaret Sterry.  
Prudence Jarvis.  
Elizabeth Gough.  
Ann Sterne.  
Elizabeth Lux.  
Susanna Vanatturme.  
Susanna Baily.  
Mary James.  
Joane White.  
Hannah Symmons.  
Cicilo Whittington.

*Richard White*, Elder.  
Thomas Rieves, Deacon.  
Rich King.  
Edward Ekley.  
Robert Bodenham.  
Nathaniel Evans.  
John Morgan.  
George Robinson.  
Francis Whitehead.  
John James.  
*Thomas Jenings*.  
Thomas Jones.  
Elizabeth Stephens.  
Sarah Evans.  
Abigall Robinson.  
Jane Robinson.  
Margaret Shaell.  
Martha Spurgin.  
Mabell Turtle.  
Joane Walton.  
Grace Price.  
Elizabeth Dayos.  
Joane Evans.  
Katherine Evans.  
Joane Rawlins.  
Deborah Loverine.  
Silvester Saunders.  
Judith Morgan.  
Joane Munday.  
Margery Symons.  
Elizabeth Watkins.  
Elizabeth Williams.  
Dorathy Smith.  
Susanna Sandy.  
Ann Ellis, junior.  
Mary West, y<sup>e</sup> deaconess.  
Mary Shuter.  
Elinor Brookes.  
Rose Teage.  
Judith Maynard.  
Elizabeth Browne.

Sarah Popwell.  
 Ann Jones, senior.  
 Bridgett Hill, senior.  
 Bridgett Hill, junior.  
 Elizabeth Betterton.  
 Susanna Davis.  
 Alice Cornish.  
 Joane Dickason.

Sarah Young.  
 Elizabeth Shute.  
 Ann Ekly.  
 Elizabeth Burd, Key.  
 Mary Webb.  
 Elizabeth Wimson.  
 Martha Bryan.  
 Bridgett Webber.

These all Subscribed by themselves present, or by their Substitutes, Y<sup>e</sup> number of which are 98; and there were but Two Members more that we could not then know their Mindes, viz., Bro. James Bland, coming home from Sea, and Sister Morgan, of Barton Regis, not there. Soe that there was in all JUST ONE *hundred ACTUALL members when MR. HARDCASTLE came*. But there were many other members besides that had removed their habitations, some in y<sup>e</sup> Countrys, and some to London; Doubtfull whether they would returne againe.

*Anno 1671.* After this was done, Mr. Hardcastle being somewhat before come to y<sup>e</sup> house where y<sup>e</sup> meeting was, which was our Old Pastor's house in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, y<sup>e</sup> Church sent a brother to pray him to Come into that roome where y<sup>e</sup> Church mett; who being come in, One of y<sup>e</sup> Elders declares to Mr. Hardcastle what y<sup>e</sup> Church had that Morning been doing:—*That they had unanimously Chosen or Elected him for their Pastor*, and, therefore, did hope he would not refuse y<sup>e</sup> Lord's voice in it to him, but that he would *Accept of our Call; And so presented him with y<sup>e</sup> foregoing Paper, y<sup>e</sup> Church's Call* under their hands. And, withall, to lett him see Visibly that what y<sup>e</sup> Church had Subscribed and delivered him was their Very Act and deed, y<sup>e</sup> Church was desired (by one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders, our Br. Ellis,) to Manifest their Earnest desires by Every Member's lifting up their Right hand to y<sup>e</sup> Lord; Which immediately was done. *And that very Act, to see so many score hands lifted up together in a Roome at once, in that Solemne manner to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, Struck* some impresse upon Mr. Hardcastle's Spirit, that he could not deny y<sup>e</sup> Church, though then he would not promise positively to come to them againe, but would leave it with y<sup>e</sup> Lord that orders and limitts y<sup>e</sup> bounds of our habitation, being willing to be where he might doe most service for Christ.

But we understand since, y<sup>e</sup> Reason why he would not promise was because he had not given his Denyall to y<sup>e</sup> Church in *London*, and soe was not regularly Clear from them, Therefore he would not promise. But his heart was soe Altered by y<sup>e</sup> Lord that, when he came to London, he gave y<sup>e</sup> Church there a Negative answer to their Motion of Chooseing him to Office with them, and then sent us word he would come to us; but wished us to write to y<sup>e</sup> said Church in London, to Graunt him a letter to us of Commendation or Dismission from them; Which we did. But

they were soe greatly offended and troubled with us, that they would not graunt him any letter, but still charged us with Sin for soe doeing to take him from them; and to this day,<sup>44</sup> which is near Five years, we cannot gett any letter of dismission from them. Now, BECAUSE that we understood our aforesaid Call preceded his denyall to them, *Wee therefore*, when he came downe againe to us, Wee gave him a New Call, *upon y<sup>e</sup> 8th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6 Month following*, An<sup>o</sup> 1671, and signeing it as before at a Church-meeting then for A Day of prayer, and Commending him, y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Hardcastle, to y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, upon Tryall for y<sup>e</sup> office of a Pastor to this Congregation, (signing it as before,) For Order sake, and to Silence them, y<sup>e</sup> Church in London, For Peace sake on our part to them. For y<sup>e</sup> Case of this Church, (or any other,) without a Pastor, being as if a *Virgin* was goeing to Marry a Man that was in league with, (and not Clear from,) another woman; Which ought to be, before He Contract upon likeing with any other.

Thus, through y<sup>e</sup> Grace and Goodnesse of our Lord Jesus, (our great Shepherd, that takes Care of his *Church Universall*, and so of Every *Garden* or *Church* of his Individuall,) having obtained y<sup>e</sup> Mercy to have another Pastor over us, under him, upon Tryall, Y<sup>e</sup> Church Considered of getting a Publique meeting-place againe. For that at the Whitson Court, we being, as aforesaid, driven out, it was in those troubles lett out for a Warehouse againe, Soe we could not have it.<sup>45</sup> *Whereupon* we tooke y<sup>e</sup> Meeting-house at y<sup>e</sup> lower end of *Broadmead*, (Where y<sup>e</sup> *Heretics* called Quakers had formerly used to meet;) It being FOUR GREAT ROOMES MADE INTO ONE SQUARE ROOME, ABOUT 16 YEARDS LONG, AND 15 YEARDS BROAD, which we took y<sup>e</sup> 12th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6 Month, and fitted it up against y<sup>e</sup> 20th day of y<sup>e</sup> said 6 Month, August, An<sup>o</sup> 1671, which was y<sup>e</sup> first Lord's day we mett in it; where, through y<sup>e</sup> Lord's help, we have remained, Ever since, now towards 5 years, y<sup>e</sup> Church held forth y<sup>e</sup> Gospell to poore Sinners there.

Butt at our first Entrance, Appearing so Publique againe, we had some trouble by many threats; But our new Pastour, being a man of great Courage in y<sup>e</sup> Lord, was not moved. Then y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Councill (upon some greate and urgent Complaints, for our soe meeting, before a Lord of y<sup>e</sup> Land from London then here,) debated to send for our Pastor, Mr. Hardcastle; but then it was waived, and only they determined to send for *Br. Terrill* before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor. Who, after y<sup>e</sup> Serjeant came for him, went to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who was then *Aldm. Knight*, of y<sup>e</sup> Sugar-house, whom God had Changed, and made very moderate towards us, soe that he favoured us, and had Connived at us all y<sup>e</sup> year before. But now, through y<sup>e</sup> Complaints, (as we after understood,) of one Old Mr. Wright, that had been Sheriff, that said he could hear us *Sing*

<sup>44</sup> To this day, i.e., 1676.

<sup>45</sup> Was this when Thomas Ellis moved to London?

*Psalmes* from our meeting-place, at his house in Hallier's Lane; who with some other, like Tobijah and Sanballatt, forward to Prosecute us, endeavoured our disturbance. But Broth. Terrill gave y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's Worship Thankes that through his wisdome and Moderation we had most of his time been soe quiet, and prayed his worship to Continue such his favour y<sup>e</sup> remainder of his time, which was soe near Expired; Knowing his worship had Wisdome enough to know how to avoid and wave y<sup>e</sup> Complaints of such persons that would be troublesome for ye rest of his year. And so y<sup>e</sup> Mayor dismissed *Br. Terrill*, and y<sup>e</sup> Lord gave us rest. Thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord favoured us with a Peaceable beginning for our new Pastor and New Meeting-place.

*Anno* 1671. Thus God having graciously given us a New Pastor, Y<sup>e</sup> Church, before he came down from London y<sup>e</sup> second time (which should have been Noted y<sup>e</sup> Side before), after severall debates of y<sup>e</sup> Duty of a Church towards a Pastor, not only for their owne good to Call him, but to take care that he may have a Comfortable Subsistence yearly coming in for y<sup>e</sup> Maintenance of him and his family, It was Concluded that lesse than Eighty pounds per Annum would not for him Comfortably defray all charges, (*According to his Duty, Titus i. 7, 8.*) and as things were now in y<sup>e</sup> Citty; and that it lay upon y<sup>e</sup> Church to take care about those Carnall things, *And he about Spirituall things.*

But then it was Considered how to raise y<sup>e</sup> said summe, to discharge our duty. *Some, weakly*, would have it left alone to y<sup>e</sup> liberty of Every person to give him as they could, and when their minds were disposed; and that they judged to be y<sup>e</sup> Gospell way. But y<sup>e</sup> Rest of y<sup>e</sup> members were otherwise minded, and they Judged ye Gospell way was a way of *Regularity*, as well as of liberty;—which could not be to leave a Minister's mind in bondage, every now and then, not knowing where to have food;—therfore, said, it was *Rational* and *Scripturall* for every one to engage what they would doe freely and yearly, that soe we might know our duty in some measure was performed, that he had soe much as Reasonably might support him; that he might not be to seeke sometimes for his bread, and then must be forced to Beg or Borrow, and not know when or how to pay it againe. Wherefore it was Proved from Scripture, that though whatever any one did doe they must doe it freely, like y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, (and not compelled, but from force of Reason and Conscious of duty,) yet they must doe every one according to his ability, somewhat Constantly or duly, as well as freely, from y<sup>e</sup> Evangelicall rule of record, 1 Cor. ix. 7—14, God hath Ordained, that they which preach y<sup>e</sup> Gospell should live of y<sup>e</sup> gospell; as he that feeds y<sup>e</sup> flock should eat y<sup>e</sup> milk of y<sup>e</sup> flock. Soe that this, of Constantly or yearly Communicating to y<sup>e</sup> Maintenance of a Pastor or Minister, is as Eminent an *Ordinance of God* as any other ordinance whatsoever in y<sup>e</sup> Gospell; and that every one ought to make as much Conscience in y<sup>e</sup> performance

thereof as any other. And, Moreover, it was proved that Every one should Tye himself yearly to pay to y<sup>e</sup> service of y<sup>e</sup> house of God; haveing not only ye Reason of y<sup>e</sup> former Scripture, with Gala. vi. 6, and divers others in y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, but alsoe that *Plaine President* that y<sup>e</sup> Church of God that then was did soe doe in Neh. x. 32; where it is said, *They made Ordinances to Charge themselves YEARLY with y<sup>e</sup> third parte of a shekell for y<sup>e</sup> service of y<sup>e</sup> house of our God.*

This Duty being proved soe plainely, that it must be done heartily, freely, and yearly, We did likewise make by agreement an *Ordinance* or *Writeing* What they would doe certainly; and if God did blesse any one with more ability, this should not hinder them from handing what they would more by themselves to y<sup>e</sup> *Pastor Privately*, soe not to be seen of men. But y<sup>e</sup> Brethren and Elders must know that Every one doth their duty, and that there be a Competency; therefore that every one of us should Subscribe what he or she would give, freely and yearly, towards y<sup>e</sup> Pastor's Maintainance. Which writeing or Ordinance, a copy thereof is as follows:—

*Wee, whose names are underwritten, Being, through rich grace and infinite love. Called out of Darknesse into y<sup>e</sup> Marvellous light of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and into Gospell Order, according to y<sup>e</sup> Commands of our Only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in 2 Corinth. vi. 17, 18, Math. xviii. 18, 19, and Hebrews x. 23, 24, 25; and thus of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's owne Magnified Mercy and good will Chosen out and sett forth in y<sup>e</sup> World, to be (one of his Churches, or) a Candlestick of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's, Revel. i. 20; our duty being to have a Candle or Minister therein, Luke viii. 16, Acts xiv. 23, that we may hold forth a light to y<sup>e</sup> World, as well as for our Owne Edification and priviledge, left us by our Lord at his Ascension, Eph. iv. 8, 11: Therefore, according to our duty, 1 Cor. ix. 7, to 14, and according to y<sup>e</sup> Example of y<sup>e</sup> Church of God of Old Record in Nehemiah x. 32, for y<sup>e</sup> service of y<sup>e</sup> house of our God, Wee have Considered, also Consented and Agreed, to Charge ourselves to pay yearly These our severall Voluntary and free Subscriptions, for y<sup>e</sup> Comfortable Maintaining of a Pastor for this Congregation; and it is Concluded upon, that we will pay what we have severally engaged by Equall Proportion quarterly. This being y<sup>e</sup> unanimous Act and Order of this Church in their Solemne Assembly; Ratified and Confirmed this 13 day of y<sup>e</sup> 4th month Anno Christ 1671.*

To this y<sup>e</sup> Members, upon y<sup>e</sup> said day y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance is dated, they Subscribed, every one according to their ability, what they would give yearly. And y<sup>e</sup> Manner we tooke for Subscribing, that every one might act freely and Privately, was Thus. When y<sup>e</sup> Church was come together for Prayer, and in y<sup>e</sup> Close of y<sup>e</sup> day for settling of this Businesse, being all together in one Roome,

Wee Ordered one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders with another grave Brother to goe into another roome of y<sup>e</sup> house with y<sup>e</sup> said Writeing; and y<sup>e</sup> other Elder that staid in y<sup>e</sup> Meeting Called over y<sup>e</sup> names of y<sup>e</sup> Church, and sent them in one by one Into that roome where y<sup>e</sup> said Elder and brother were, for to write downe what they did with them Privately and Freely offer and promise, or charge themselves withall, to give yearly, And by them to be brought in quarterly to one of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren Appoynted on Purpose, as Treasurer, to take care of that businesse; and by him, with y<sup>e</sup> Elders, to be delivered, 20*l.* each Quarter, to y<sup>e</sup> said Pastor, Mr. Hardcastle. And that it might be soe duly paid, it was Ordered that Every person bring in their quarteredge a Month before Every usuall quarter day of y<sup>e</sup> Yeare. And soe they all that could give came one after another into y<sup>e</sup> said roome, and tould what they were of themselves free to pay, and then straitway returned out of y<sup>e</sup> roome into y<sup>e</sup> meeting againe.

Now to Raise this said summe yearly, there were but about 50 persons that could give anything, tho there were as many members againe; But some had wifes in y<sup>e</sup> Church, some had children, and divers poore that made up y<sup>e</sup> Number. Yett it pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord to stirr up their hearts to raise y<sup>e</sup> said summe of 80*l.* per annum; for some servants subscribed Ten shillings per year, other Servants Six shillings; other members meane in y<sup>e</sup> world but rich in grace gave Ten shillings, others 20 shillings, some thirty shillings, some others forty shillings, some 50 shillings, some 3*l.*, some 4*l.* per Annum, one Five pounds, and another Six pounds per Annum.

Of those that subscribed to y<sup>e</sup> Pastor's Maintainance there was to be observed y<sup>e</sup> grace of God in some. One aged brother, named Henry Pierce, a very meane poore man to appearance in Person and habitt, and by Profession or trade but a Journyman Shoemaker, that lived up in a Cock-loft; yett his heart was so enlarged for and by y<sup>e</sup> Lord, that he would Subscribe, and did pay, not Lesse than Twenty shillings per Annum. And one other member, a Sister, named Margaret Webb, (that had two Children to maintaine,) that lived very meane, and tooke greate care to carry y<sup>e</sup> world about to live therein honestly towards all, and laboured very hard soe to doe; yet she would Subscribe towards y<sup>e</sup> Carrying on of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, and did pay Forty shillings per year. Which Examples *did provoke, if not shame, many others.*

BR. THOMAS CHILD was Proposed y<sup>e</sup> 23rd day of y<sup>e</sup> 5 Mo 1671; spoken with y<sup>e</sup> 20th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6 Month foll; before y<sup>e</sup> whole Church he then declared y<sup>e</sup> worke of Regeneration upon his soul, (at our publick meeting-place in Broadmead, y<sup>e</sup> first day we mett there,) with which his declaration y<sup>e</sup> Church was satisfied. Thereupon, y<sup>e</sup> 8th of y<sup>e</sup> 7th month, he was Baptized; and at Breaking of bread he was Admitted a member of this Congregation, upon y<sup>e</sup> 10th day of y<sup>e</sup> 7th month, An<sup>o</sup> 1671.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 20th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6 month, An<sup>o</sup> 1671, this Congregation Signed a SECOND CALL to Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, (worded as y<sup>e</sup> former,) to be Pastor to this Church.

BR. JOHN FORD, tanner, SR. FORD his wife, BR. HENRY FIELDUST, with SISTER MESSENGER, and S. BOWLES, having before been proposed and spoken with, before y<sup>e</sup> whole congregation gave their declaration; they were, y<sup>e</sup> 13th day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Month, BAPTIZED; and those, with S. HILL, they were all six admitted members of this Congregation, upon y<sup>e</sup> 15th day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th month, Anno Domi 1671.

S. MURRY having formerly been proposed and spoken with, and Satisfaction recd by y<sup>e</sup> Church, she was BAPTIZED in y<sup>e</sup> River, as all others are, into y<sup>e</sup> *Name of y<sup>e</sup> Father, y<sup>e</sup> Son, and of y<sup>e</sup> Holy Ghost*, upon y<sup>e</sup> 5th day of y<sup>e</sup> 11th Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1671; and upon y<sup>e</sup> 7th of said Month, she, with S. GWILLIAM, who before was alsoe spoken with, and they were both together Admitted members of this Congregation, at Breaking bread on y<sup>e</sup> said 7th of 11 Mo, 1671.

S. LANE, now Ford, and S: CLARK, having been Proposed formerly, declared y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> Lord upon their hearts to their Conversion, on y<sup>e</sup> 20th of y<sup>e</sup> 12 Month. Y<sup>e</sup> Church haveing recd Satisfaction, Those two with S. HILL, whoe was added about 4 Months before, were BAPTIZED upon y<sup>e</sup> 23rd day of 12 mo. 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and upon y<sup>e</sup> 25th day foll., S. Lane, or Ford, with S. Clark, were admitted members.

Anno 1672.—BR. RICHARD TOWNE, on y<sup>e</sup> 17th of y<sup>e</sup> first Mo. proposed; on y<sup>e</sup> 25 day, ditto, he gave an Accompt of y<sup>e</sup> Change upon his Soule, and how he came to be Convinced of y<sup>e</sup> Damnable Principles of y<sup>e</sup> Quakers, haveing been one of them many years. He was, with aged S. PAPEWELL, an ancient member, BAPTIZED y<sup>e</sup> 12th day of y<sup>e</sup> 2d month, and added a member upon y<sup>e</sup> 14th of said Second Month, Aprill, Anno Domi 1672.

S. POPE, an Aged widdow, and Professor with our friends called y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterians, propounded to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Church, 3d of ye first month last; she was Spoken with before y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, y<sup>e</sup> 11, ditto; they receiving satisfaction to receive her into Communion, she was BAPTIZED y<sup>e</sup> 26th of y<sup>e</sup> second month following, and Received a Member y<sup>e</sup> 10 day of y<sup>e</sup> 3d month after, An<sup>o</sup> 1672.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 7 day of 3 Month, 1672, being a day of Fasting and prayer in order to Receiveing y<sup>e</sup> Lord's supper, Y<sup>e</sup> Church took into Consideration y<sup>e</sup> severall Members belonging to this Congregation that, by God's providence, they were removed to remote habitations; some in *Ireland*, some in *Nevis Island*, some to *London*, some to y<sup>e</sup> West Countrys of England, and other parts. It was ORDERED that a *Generall* letter should be writt, and a Coppy thereof signed by y<sup>e</sup> Brethren in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> whole, and soe a letter sent to Every one of those Scattered Members, To Inquire

into y<sup>e</sup> state of their soules, and to know whether they did keepe close to their duty *In Walkeing* with some church, and *With Whome*? That soe if they have not, nor will not hearken to Exhortation therein, that they should be cast out of this Church. And, accordingly, there were letters sent to Each, and wee had answers from them.<sup>46</sup>

BR. NATHANEEL SNEED, and S. SNEED, his wife, and S. RACHEL CLARK their Servant, were Proposed to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, as their desire to Joyne, upon y<sup>e</sup> 5 day, y<sup>e</sup> 3 mo. 1672; and on y<sup>e</sup> 7th day following, being y<sup>e</sup> Churches monthly day, they made their declaration before y<sup>e</sup> Congregation of their Conversion or worke of God upon their soules; with which y<sup>e</sup> Church being Satisfied, they were BAPTIZED upon y<sup>e</sup> 10th day of y<sup>e</sup> 3d Month, 1672. Soe that then we saw (and had experience of), A WHOLE HOUSEHOLD was BAPTIZED at one time together: namely, himselfe, his wife, and Maid, which was all y<sup>e</sup> family. Soe that it may be said (according to y<sup>e</sup> Judgment of Charity, they having declared their Conversion, their faith, and repentance), as it was said of y<sup>e</sup> JAYLOR, Acts xvi. 34, *He believed in God with all his house*. So THAT HERE IS A LIVEING PRESIDENT, that a man and all his (or a whole) *Household* may be Baptized, and have no Child in it; *As many more may be*, if y<sup>e</sup> Lord please to Change them, and grace them with *Faith, Repentance*, and desires of y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance, as these Did, According to y<sup>e</sup> practice of Christ and y<sup>e</sup> Apostles.

S DAWSON was Propounded upon y<sup>e</sup> 12th day of y<sup>e</sup> 3d Mo, 1672. She gave a declaration of y<sup>e</sup> worke of grace upon her heart, on y<sup>e</sup> 6 day, 6 Month foll., and was received into Fellowship y<sup>e</sup> 11 day, 6 Month, 1672.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> said 11th of y<sup>e</sup> 6 Month, 1672, y<sup>e</sup> Church tooke into Consideration their Meeting of Conference, which for some time they had Omitted, through y<sup>e</sup> Sicknesse and decease of their late Pastour, and through y<sup>e</sup> Persecution that began upon them on y<sup>e</sup> 10 May, 1670; being by force and Armes kept out of our Meeting place. Soe that y<sup>e</sup> Church kept up but one of y<sup>e</sup> two week dayes meetings, besides y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, dureing these troubles. And now Enjoying some peace, *Ye Church Orders*, that our said Meeting of Conference be againe sett up, for y<sup>e</sup> Exercise of y<sup>e</sup> young brethren's Gifts; that according to 1 Cor. xiv. from 24, 29—32, that all may speak; that any Member may Propose a Question from Scripture, and soe their doubts may be resolved; and that this meeting be kept Every second day in y<sup>e</sup> week, at 5 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, at y<sup>e</sup> Meeting house.

S. MARY FIELD, widdow, and S. MARY SKINKER, being propounded upon y<sup>e</sup> 3d of 9 Month, 1672; S. Field only gave an Accompt of y<sup>e</sup> work of God upon her soule, on y<sup>e</sup> 5 day ditto, at a day of Prayer.

BR. HENRY DAVIS, and S. MARY YOUNG, with S. BATHSHEBA SULMER, and S. ELIZABETH JORDAN, were

<sup>46</sup> The letters are reprinted in *Underhill*, pp. 166-187.



propounded together, upon y<sup>e</sup> 29th of y<sup>e</sup> 10th Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1672.

BR. NICOLAS GREGORY was propounded upon y<sup>e</sup> 7th of 11 Month, 1672; and then, together with those proposed before, namely, Br. Davis, S. Skinker, S. Mary Young, S. Bathsheba Sulmer, S. Elizabeth Jordan, these five gave an Accompt of y<sup>e</sup> worke of God upon their soules before y<sup>e</sup> whole Congregation. *Three* of which y<sup>e</sup> Church received then Satisfaction to receive them; but two of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren desired further time to Discourse Mary Skinker about her Principles; whether she was sound in y<sup>e</sup> Doctrine of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, concerning y<sup>e</sup> Person and humane Nature of Christ our Lord: and time to discourse Elizabeth Jordan somewhat further, for their satisfaction concerning y<sup>e</sup> truth of y<sup>e</sup> worke of grace upon her soule; soe these were all made to waite a Month longer till satisfaction recd.

BR. ROBERT LEWIS, and S. ELIZABETH WILLIS, with S. SHIP, of *Woolland*, where our *Br. Jenings* used to preach, were propounded on y<sup>e</sup> 4th day of y<sup>e</sup> first Month, 1672; and it being a day of Prayer, they were then spoken with, and they gave an Accompt of y<sup>e</sup> worke of Grace upon their hearts; with which *Three*, y<sup>e</sup> Church, (after they were sent away,) declared their satisfaction.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of y<sup>e</sup> first Month, 1672, Nine of these persons above, namely, *Br. Henry DAVIS*, BR. NICOLAS GREGORY, BR. ROB. LEWIS, S. MARY FIELD, S. MARY YOUNG, S. ELIZ. WILLIS, S. ELIZ. JORDAN, S. BATHSH. SULMER, being persons y<sup>e</sup> Church had received Satisfaction in, were *Admitted Members* of this Congregation, at y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper; haveing been BAPTIZED, all Nine together, upon y<sup>e</sup> 7 day of y<sup>e</sup> said 1st Month beforementioned.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 4th day of said first Month, 1672, Y<sup>e</sup> Church sent two Brethren, namely, Brother Reeves and Br. Courtney, to one S. Evans, without Lawford's Gate, to Admonish her to keep her place, and if not, they would deale further with her for hearing y<sup>e</sup> Quakers. She with her husband had communion with us for some time, But were not Members with us; but of some church near Gloucester,<sup>47</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Free-will Judgment, Kin to Quakers.

Anno 1673.—S. MARY SKINKER was, after further speaking with her, and Satisfaction recd, Added to this Congregation on y<sup>e</sup> 6 day of 2 Mo., 1673.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 23rd day of this 2 Month, 1673, A SAD PROVIDENCE fell out to this Congregation, which was This:—Our *Br. John Fry*, a Bachelor, fell distracted. First it came upon him in a way of *Despairing*, that he was Lost and Damned; then he brake out in bad language to all y<sup>e</sup> brethren that came near him, calling them very bad names, and immodest Expressions to some women, Raveing and strikeing them that came near to hold him; and when they were forced to Binde him on y<sup>e</sup> Bed he would Spitt at some, and use such vile and grievous words, it was Consternation of spirit to all that knew him, it being soe directly opposite

<sup>47</sup> Is this Nympsfield? See *OR*, II, p. 825.

and contrary to y<sup>e</sup> whole frame of his former way and temper. And being thus sorely Assaulted and pressed by y<sup>e</sup> Devill, (as all that beheld and heard him could not otherwise Judge,) he did alsoe (and that which is worse than all) Breake forth into such dreadfull and *Horrible Expressions*, against y<sup>e</sup> whole *Deity*, at some times with such *Blasphemous* words that it made y<sup>e</sup> hearts of all that heard it to Ache, and y<sup>e</sup> Haire of their heads, as it were, to stand on End; And their Spirits to be so pressed thereby, hardly able to Containe, or to be in y<sup>e</sup> Roome to hear it, Being so Astonished at what y<sup>e</sup> Lord had suffered to befall this Brother, that had y<sup>e</sup> Testimony of all, Good and bad, that he had a very lovely, humble Conversation, and Judged that he walked close with God, (as was attested by a Godly, Judicious Dr of *Physick*, a member of another Congregation in this City, that had lived several years Tabled in y<sup>e</sup> house with him, having a grave woman to his mother-in-law that kept his house, she being a Sister named Fry, in fellowship with us). This Dr whilst he tabled there observed him all along to be a very sober, Practicall Christian; reading and Praying after y<sup>e</sup> worke of his outward Calling (when his Journey-men were departed, and his servants had left worke), untill 10th and 11 hour most nights.

His distraction broake in upon him upon y<sup>e</sup> fourth day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke (called wednesday), and grew higher and higher, into greate raging, (as aforesaid). Physicall means were used, but all in vaine. Most persuaded he should be Carryed into y<sup>e</sup> Country for help; but some of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren desired y<sup>e</sup> Church might seeke y<sup>e</sup> Lord, by fasting and Prayer (to y<sup>e</sup> Lord), to heale and deliver him. Whereupon, y<sup>e</sup> 2d day following, being y<sup>e</sup> 28th day of y<sup>e</sup> Month, y<sup>e</sup> Congregation kept a day of Prayer in our Brother Fry's house, and in y<sup>e</sup> Roome where he was in y<sup>e</sup> Bed bound; but his rageing was so greate in y<sup>e</sup> Beginning of y<sup>e</sup> day, That we thought we should not have been able to have continued in y<sup>e</sup> Roome. Yett, notwithstanding, a Brother began y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> Day by him, and y<sup>e</sup> day was by y<sup>e</sup> Lord's assistance carryed on, and a gracious answer of Prayer was given by y<sup>e</sup> Lord, (as we did seem to apprehend,) insoemuch that y<sup>e</sup> Spirit of Rage left him in a greate measure, That it ceased by y<sup>e</sup> Evening of that day, before we parted from him. Praise only be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord!

UPON that day sevensnight, being y<sup>e</sup> 5th of y<sup>e</sup> 3d Month following, y<sup>e</sup> Church came together againe into y<sup>e</sup> same place, and kept another day of Prayer to y<sup>e</sup> Lord for him. For, although y<sup>e</sup> Lord did soe graciously answer y<sup>e</sup> Churches former Prayers that in a greate measure y<sup>e</sup> *Spirit of Rageing* left him, yett a great *Spirit of Fear* remained in him. But on this day also y<sup>e</sup> Lord did Mercifully incline towards us, and gave a *Gracious Answer* to his people's seeking him in his owne way; Soe that very observably y<sup>e</sup> *Spirit of Fear* left him, that he was not soe much in horror and frightfull apprehensions as he had been. And meanes were used Physically

for his recovery, as Bloodying, Purgeing, and Leeching, to Draw y<sup>e</sup> Distemper from his head; according to our Prayers, that if y<sup>e</sup> Lord pleased to have us use Outward means, that he would Direct to it, and blesse y<sup>e</sup> meanes: which he Compassionately answered.

But when he began to come to himselfe, and his poor thin body that had been pluckt down began to receive some refreshment, Wee had great fears his distemper would have come on againe with its former violence. For though those his Fitts ceased for above a Month, yett he could not arrive to any comfort or faith, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to Prayer himselfe; he lay under such despairing thoughts still that it was all in vaine, no promise did belong to him, nor consolation for him, &c. But he lay under reflection upon himselfe what a Wretch he was for what he had in or By fitts uttered against, (or of,) y<sup>e</sup> Lord. *By which we perceived* he remembered much, if not all; soe that he was filled with such shame, that he would hide his face from Every one that came to see him, or hang downe his head, or not speak. *He was soe filled with a Spirit of shame*, after y<sup>e</sup> *Spirit of Rage* and *Spirit of Fear* had left him, that they could not yet prevaile with him to go but to a near neighbour, nor hardly to see a person that came in.

Therefore y<sup>e</sup> Church appoynted another day of Prayer for him, and soe came together againe, UPON Y<sup>E</sup> 9TH DAY OF Y<sup>E</sup> 4TH MONTH following, An<sup>o</sup> 1673, at his house, To seeke y<sup>e</sup> Lord, (as it were to Perfect y<sup>e</sup> worke of his *Recovery*.) To take y<sup>e</sup> *Spirit of Shame* from him, That he might go about his lawfull Calling forth of doors. To which y<sup>e</sup> Lord gave a gracious answer of Prayer alsoe, to Admiration. For y<sup>e</sup> VERY NEXT DAY after this, he was embouldened to goe forth about his businesse in y<sup>e</sup> Citty, as he did formerly; yea, he went from house to house, about his occasions, to his Customers, for y<sup>e</sup> space of 4 or 5 hours, and returned. Thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord Cast, as it were, three Spirits, visible, to be seen, out of him: viz., A *spirit of uncleannesse* for *Rage and Blasphemy*; secondly, A *Spirit of horror and fear*; and thirdly, A *spirit of Shame*, and, as it were, *Dumbnesse*. Oh, y<sup>e</sup> Condescendtion, Mercy, grace, favour, and faithfulnessse of y<sup>e</sup> God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he should answer prayer, and hear such poore, vile, and unworthy ones as we were! Oh, nothing in us, nothing in us! Not for our sakes did he this wonderfull thing in our day, Butt for his owne name's sake; haveing engaged himself to doe for us whatsoever we ask in y<sup>e</sup> name of our Lord Jesus Christ. *Laus Deo. SOLA DEO GLORIA*, who to this day, near Three years since he recovered, y<sup>e</sup> Lord hath kept him in his former gracious frame of spirit; and he usually Exercises in prayer, in y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, on fast days, as formerly, and hath been very well Ever since in his body. Magnified be y<sup>e</sup> Lord!

This brings to our Remembrance to *Record*, to y<sup>e</sup> Glory and praise of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, Somewhat of y<sup>e</sup> like goodnesse of y<sup>e</sup> Lord to

this Congregation about 20 years since. One of y<sup>e</sup> Members of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, S. Tylly by name, had a daughter, then about — years of age, that was *Bewitched*, (as termed;) but y<sup>e</sup> Child was very much changed, and had strange fitts, and as it were haunted by an Evill Spirit, that it would say such a woman was in y<sup>e</sup> Roome; though, when they carryed it to Bath, y<sup>e</sup> whole church put aparte a day for it, to seek y<sup>e</sup> Lord by fasting and prayer, when Br. Jessey was here, and y<sup>e</sup> Child was restored well as before, and to this day. Y<sup>e</sup> Glory only be given to our God!

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 2d of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1673, by reason of y<sup>e</sup> age, and then sicknesse, of Brother Simpson, near unto death, not capable to perform y<sup>e</sup> Deacon's work, and by reason of y<sup>e</sup> decease of Sister West, y<sup>e</sup> widdow or Deaconnesse of y<sup>e</sup> Church, they tooke into Consideration to Elect two other. Whereupon y<sup>e</sup> said day at our Pastor's house, it being a day of Prayer, y<sup>e</sup> Congregation Chose Brother Mr. John Ford to be a Deacon, and Sister Murry to be a Widdow or Deaconnesse to y<sup>e</sup> Church. Thus, being Elected, and sett aparte by Prayer, they are Recommended to y<sup>e</sup> worke upon Tryall.

BR. THOMAS JACOB, BR. EDWARD WILLIS, S. MARY HAWKINS, and S. MARY EVANS, being before proposed and spoken with, and y<sup>e</sup> Church recd Satisfaction concerning y<sup>e</sup> worke of grace, which in Charity according to their severall declarations is hoped to be in truth, They were all four BAPTIZED in y<sup>e</sup> River Frome, upon y<sup>e</sup> 4th of 5th month, 1673, by Mr. Tho. Jenings, Minister, and y<sup>e</sup> Church's Administrator for y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance of Baptisme; and they were all four Admitted members of this Congregation, upon y<sup>e</sup> 6th day of y<sup>e</sup> said 5th month, An<sup>o</sup> 1673, Att breaking of Bread.

S. FRANCIS HILL was Proposed y<sup>e</sup> 6 day of y<sup>e</sup> 6 month, 1673, and then spoken with to y<sup>e</sup> Satisfaction of y<sup>e</sup> church; she was BAPTIZED into y<sup>e</sup> faith y<sup>e</sup> 19th of y<sup>e</sup> 7th Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1673, And Admitted a member of this Congregation by y<sup>e</sup> Pastor, on y<sup>e</sup> Suffrage of y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, who, by their Signe (when y<sup>e</sup> Person hath passed their former approbation, and presented for admission), being silent for some space, declare their Satisfaction, in Charity, of her Conversion and suitable Conversation; and soe she was admitted into y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, y<sup>e</sup> 21 day of y<sup>e</sup> 7th Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1673.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> first of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Month, 1673, y<sup>e</sup> Church kept a day of Thanksgiving for y<sup>e</sup> Mercy bestowed in *Br. Fry's* restoration; wherein he himselfe prayed, as y<sup>e</sup> Mouth of y<sup>e</sup> Church, in y<sup>e</sup> after part of y<sup>e</sup> day; and in y<sup>e</sup> Close Joyned with them in singing a Psalme of Praise.

S. LYDIA PURNELL, and S. SARAH LLEWELLYN, of Mangersfield, in y<sup>e</sup> county of Gloucester, were propounded and spoken with upon y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of 10th Month, 1673; satisfaction being received from their declaration, they were BAPTIZED, y<sup>e</sup> 12th day of said

Month, and upon y<sup>e</sup> 14th day of 10th Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1673, they were admitted members of this Congregation.

MEMORANDUM. UPON y<sup>e</sup> 19th day of y<sup>e</sup> 3 Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1674, y<sup>e</sup> Church being Assembled on a day of Prayer. Haveing taken it into Consideration that Mr. Thomas Hardcastle had now been near Three years sett aparte by this Church upon *Tryall* for y<sup>e</sup> office of a Pastor to this Congregation, they now come to Determine y<sup>e</sup> matter. Thereupon, by one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders, these Two Questions are Propounded:—

First, of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation it was Demanded, whether they upon this long Tryall were Satisfied to Choose him, y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Hardcastle, to be their Pastour, having had now Experience of his Qualification thereto, both as to his *Gifts* and *Grace*: and if they were all satisfied to Choose him to be their Pastour under Christ, and that he should be Ordained to y<sup>e</sup> said Office among them? It was then required that Every Member Present should Declare their Assent, Consent, and Choice, by their lifting up their Right hands to y<sup>e</sup> Lord; which accordingly every Member, both Men and Women, did, Immediately and unanimously, lift up their hand to y<sup>e</sup> Lord; and soe on y<sup>e</sup> Church's part it was done. After this, y<sup>e</sup> elder, applying his speech to Mr. Hardcastle,

And, *Secondly*, Demands, by way of Entreaty, of y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, whether he was Satisfied, after this long Tryall of us, to Accept of this y<sup>e</sup> Churches Choice of him? To which Mr. Hardcastle, agreeing, Standing up, said and Declared, That y<sup>e</sup> leading Argument that brought him hither, upon y<sup>e</sup> Churches Call to him, was Service for his Lord and Master Jesus Christ; And upon y<sup>e</sup> Experience of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's owneing him here in y<sup>e</sup> work of y<sup>e</sup> Ministry, for y<sup>e</sup> bringing in of Soules, as he hoped truly, to Christ, (as much, if not more than he might have Expected Elsewhere;) from whence, for his owne parte, he was willing to Continue here, and to Accept of y<sup>e</sup> Office of Pastor to this Church; Desireing, before he be *Ordained*, that Endeavours be used to y<sup>e</sup> Church in London, from whence he came, that they may graunt him a letter of Dismission. To which y<sup>e</sup> Church promised that they would use endeavours to send once more to that Church for to dismisse him.

Thus, *Eben-Ezer*, y<sup>e</sup> Lord hath hitherto helped us, and settled us once more with a Pastour, That that businesse was soe unanimously and heartily finished, and closed on both sides. There remains now only *Ordination* by laying on of hands to this Church, for Order according to Holy Scripture Rule.

BR. JOHN PURNELL, BR. THO. HALL, S. KIMBAR, S. MARY SMITH, of Woolland, in y<sup>e</sup> county of Gloucester, with S. JENINGS (an Old professor, That had long walked with y<sup>e</sup> Church, reputed an Independent, and formerly a Puritan, and wife to Br. Jenings, Administrator of y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance of Baptisme to this Church), together with one MRS. BEVIS that had proposed to

Joyne, and had declared to y<sup>e</sup> Church how y<sup>e</sup> Lord wrought on her, and y<sup>e</sup> Congregation did hope it was in truth. But it was not Judged Convenient to Admitt her by reason of her selling of drink, and some defects in her Conversation about her husband's debts that he had Contracted. YET, UPON her great and often desires and Importunity to passe under y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance of Baptisme to obey Christ, y<sup>e</sup> Administrator, upon her Profession of Faith and Repentance, and y<sup>e</sup> manner how she was Converted, hoping that she was a Christian and regenerated, though y<sup>e</sup> greate Cumbrance of her life through a bad husband had cast some Obloquy and Obscurity on her Conversation, That her willingnesse to walke honestly and holy was not soe Conspicuous as others' not so Ensnared;—yet she, with y<sup>e</sup> other five beforenamed, ALL SIX, were BAPTIZED in y<sup>e</sup> River Froome, upon y<sup>e</sup> 22 day of y<sup>e</sup> 3 Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1674. And these four, namely, *Br. Purnell, Br. Hall, S. Kimbar, and S. Mary Smith*, all beforenamed, were ADDED to y<sup>e</sup> Church, upon y<sup>e</sup> 24th of y<sup>e</sup> 3d Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1674. But Mrs. Bevis notwithstanding was not received nor Admitted, though she had stood Propounded to y<sup>e</sup> Church above 2 years before.

MEMORANDUM. One Mr. Lewis, an Ironmonger in White Cross Street in London, being a Member of one Mr. Partridge's Congregation in London, Coming to Bristoll fairs, and hearing Mr. Hardcastle, being severall years before Convinced of Baptisme, was now more Confirmed; and therefore Earnestly Desired of our Pastor that he might Passe under that Ordinance here. Therefore he was BAPTIZED here, upon y<sup>e</sup> 3d of 6 month, Anno 1674, by Bro. Jennings, in y<sup>e</sup> River Froome, and another with him.

BR. JOSHUA BRYAN was proposed upon y<sup>e</sup> 14th of y<sup>e</sup> 4th Mo, 1674, and he declared to y<sup>e</sup> Church y<sup>e</sup> Lord's manner of Calling him out of y<sup>e</sup> state of darknesse by nature, upon y<sup>e</sup> 7th of y<sup>e</sup> 5 Month foll.; of whom y<sup>e</sup> Church received satisfaction. Whereupon he was BAPTIZED y<sup>e</sup> 3d of y<sup>e</sup> 6 Month foll., (with Mr. Lewis before named;) And he was Admitted a member of y<sup>e</sup> Church upon y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6 Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1674.

S. PHRIG, of Syson, in y<sup>e</sup> county of Gloucester, was Proposed, with *Br. Bryan*, upon y<sup>e</sup> 14th day of y<sup>e</sup> 4th Month, 1674; and she gave a Declaration of y<sup>e</sup> worke of God upon her soule, upon y<sup>e</sup> 4th day of 6 Month foll.; and she was, upon y<sup>e</sup> Churches satisfaction with her Declaration, BAPTIZED upon y<sup>e</sup> 6 day of y<sup>e</sup> 8 Month foll.; and she was ADDED a member of this Congregation upon y<sup>e</sup> 11th day of said 8th Month, An<sup>o</sup> 1674.

Anno. 1674. ABOUT this time, in this 8th Month, October, 1674, BEGAN our EIGHTH PERSECUTION in this Citty. For a little before this, in y<sup>e</sup> 7 Month last past, a *New Bishop*, one Guy Carleton, being come to *Bristoll* to settle here, Who being (though aged and grey,) a Violent man against good people that Separated from that which he called y<sup>e</sup> Church;—for he had been formerly a Captaine in King Charles I.'s Army, against y<sup>e</sup> Parliament; and

had been out of y<sup>e</sup> Nation with this King, Charles II. in his Exile; —And now being made a *Lord Bishop* of Bristoll he resolved to Destroy all our Meetings, and said he would not leave y<sup>e</sup> Track of a Meeting in Bristoll, but would make us all come to Church, (as he called it).

Now in those few years, (last past,) of our Peace, it had pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord to give such a Breathing and liberty to his people, that those whose hearts were drawne forth to separate from y<sup>e</sup> World's Worship, as many were, and by our last persecution being driven out into y<sup>e</sup> fields, many were convinced and converted, and from thence Cleaved to us. And all *Professors* had gott severall distinct meetings by themselves, According to their severall apprehensions and Light Received. Soe that there were now SIX SEPARATE CHURCHES Settled in this City; viz., Three Baptized Congregations, Two Independent Congregations, and One Presbyterian Congregation: viz., Mr. Hardcastle's, being our meeting, most parte Baptized; Mr. Gifford's, all Baptized; and Mr. Kitching's all Baptized. And Mr. Thompson's, and Mr. Troughton's Congregations, were Independents; and Mr. Weekes' Congregation were Presbyterians.

Now four of these were Publique and Popular Meetings; that is, Mr. Weekes', Mr. Hardcastle's, and Mr. Gifford's, These three all in James's parish; and Mr. Thompson's meeting was kept in y<sup>e</sup> Castle. These were greate meetings. But Mr. Kitchin's, somewhat of y<sup>e</sup> Free-will point, also in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, was but about Three or four score, and soe was not much taken Notice of; And Mr. Troughton's lesse, being but about twenty, and not fixed to one place: for they had used to be sometimes one where, and sometimes another, haveing some honourable women of Note amongst them, but few men; they were more obscure. But y<sup>e</sup> other four meetings beforementioned: viz., Mr. Weekes', Mr. Hardcastle's, Mr. Gifford's, and Mr. Thompson's, were each of them consisting of many hundreds, that is, hearers with y<sup>e</sup> Members. And they had public places, whereto y<sup>e</sup> people did resort, as common as to y<sup>e</sup> publique places, called Churches.

Thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord haveing settled us for severall years before in Order as Armies with Banners, Yett but like little flocks of kids in comparison with y<sup>e</sup> Multitudes from y<sup>e</sup> Many Synagogues of y<sup>e</sup> Philistines of our dayes; their *Goliath*, Guy y<sup>e</sup> Bishop, being come, and he having Now gott a Mayor, within a Month after he came, fitt for his purpose, one greatly in his favour, *Ralph Ollive* by name, a Vincitner, and a greate drinker, a man given to much Wine, being now Newly-Elected and sworne, that would doe what y<sup>e</sup> Bishop would have him. And not only were these two, y<sup>e</sup> Bishop and y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, bad Instruments now risen up as formidable enemies against us, But y<sup>e</sup> Lord suffered to be raised up another wicked Instrument, to be a Scourge and Tryall to us, his poore People; (justly, for our sins of unthankfulnesse and unsuitable

walkeing to our Gracious father, and not rendering according to former benifitts received). Which Third and Pestilent Adversary against us, which did y<sup>e</sup> drudgery of y<sup>e</sup> worke for them, was one *John Hellier*, an Attorney at Law of this Citty, and had been bred up here. And he was one very crafty and subtill in y<sup>e</sup> Law, that, through Craft prospering in his hand, had gotten an estate of about 200*l.* per Annum; who not only in his calling was vile, but in his Conversation was very uncleane,—he had been fluxed for y<sup>e</sup> *Morbus Gallicus*.<sup>48</sup> And y<sup>e</sup> like of him was not in y<sup>e</sup> Country round about for y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's purpose. And he was y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's Landlord, and soe had y<sup>e</sup> Stronger Evidence of Influence to have y<sup>e</sup> Command of y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, or his Officers, at his pleasure. This John Hellier now liveing in James's Parish, where three of y<sup>e</sup> great Meetings were, as aforesaid; and this year he was made Churchwarden of his parish, (as they call it); all which strengthened him against us. For thereby, as his figge-leaf, he laboured to Cover himselfe, pretending what he did against us was in pursuance of his duty, that he might not breake his Oath, (as he said). Soe he came with his man to Our Meetings, and turned Informer, and gave Informations against our Three Meetings in said Parish; viz., Mr. Weekes', Mr. Hardcastle's, and Mr. Gifford's. And y<sup>e</sup> Bishop alsoe sent Three, and sometimes more, of his owne Clergy; (namely, Parson) Pledwell of Peter's, Heath of Austin's, and Godwin of Philips's, that would come up in our Meetings, in y<sup>e</sup> Midst of Sermon, and stay some time, and take notice of as many as they could know; then goe to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and give Information against us. Thus, when they should be preaching to their owne flocks in their parishes, they left them, and would Soe Audaciously come to devour us, in y<sup>e</sup> Attire of foolish Shepherds, but inwardly were ravening wolves.

Then, from their Informations, our Ministers were summoned before y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates. But we would not suffer them then to appear; for we did apprehend their designe was to Imprisson our Ministers, as y<sup>e</sup> most effectuall way they Judged to destroy our Meetings to take up all y<sup>e</sup> Speakers, for being in y<sup>e</sup> Corporation, having an Act of Parliament for that purpose made against Non-conforming Ministers, as afterward, when they had opportunity, it appeared they soe intended to imprisson them. Therefore we feed Councillors at Law, and pleaded our right to meet soe by law before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and y<sup>e</sup> Councill; Because, about or near three years before, Y<sup>e</sup> King makeing warr with y<sup>e</sup> Dutch, his Majesty graunted Liberty (to all y<sup>e</sup> Dissenters in y<sup>e</sup> Nation, to enjoy their meetings quiet,) by a *Declaration* for lycences to be given them that would seeke for them. At which time these four Congregations, each of us, had gott out Lycences for our places and Pastours. Whereupon we stood

<sup>48</sup> *Morbus Gallicus*: the OED suggests that it is a term for the French Pox. Many of the items listed here are confirmed in the Welbeck Abbey MSS.



out against y<sup>e</sup> Bishop, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and Hellier, by law.

Thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Permissive providence caused these four Churches, (two Baptized, one Presbyterian, and one Independent congregation,) that were begun to be troubled, to Joyne together and *unite* (in councell and charge,) as poore sheep driven together by Wolves; And Resolved to Endeavour what they could to defend themselves by Law against those vile Persecutors, that were risen up against their peaceable and quiett Meetings, Resolving to destroy us. In order thereunto, these four churches chose *Two men* of each congregation to *Act* for y<sup>e</sup> whole; and those Eight men tooke care of y<sup>e</sup> matters of Law, to follow it. And as often as occasion required, these Eight men, deputed for y<sup>e</sup> Congregations, mett together to advize, consider, and manage Matters of our generall concerne, for y<sup>e</sup> four congregations, in their legall defence.

And it Pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord to suffer Hellier aforesaid, y<sup>e</sup> first day as he began against us, to be caught in a snare. For when he came to Mr. Gifford's meeting it happened, by Providence' dispose, that at that Morning another brother, that did use to preach every other Lord's day there, namely Br. Harford, was then preaching when Hellier came in. But Hellier goes before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and Swears that it was Andrew Gifford was preaching then, upon y<sup>e</sup> 27th of Sept. last. Soe there was a warrant, as well as for other ministers, soe for Andrew Gifford. Which warrants being delivered to y<sup>e</sup> chiefe constable of James's ward, who would not Execute y<sup>e</sup> Warrants, but would make Evasions, and some Lord's dayes would gett out of Towne, when he might take up y<sup>e</sup> Ministers, who still kept their preaching; but we suffered y<sup>e</sup> chiefe Constable to take brother Andrew Gifford, because we knew him to be Clear of that Information. And he being brought before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Hellier had y<sup>e</sup> Confidence to Swear upon y<sup>e</sup> holy *Record* that this was y<sup>e</sup> man, swearing to his person although it was another; and notwithstanding it was putt to him severall times to consider lest he was Mistaken, yet he swore positively that was y<sup>e</sup> Man. Thus Hellier tooke a false Oath, and there were 10 present that did witnesse y<sup>e</sup> Contrary, and four tooke their oathes it was another did then preach; soe y<sup>e</sup> magistrates saw Hellier had sworne false. And soe they troubled us for severall months, but we kept our meetings, and our Pastour's preaching still; Pleading our Rights by Law.

Y<sup>e</sup> Bishop being perplexed that he was so opposed that he could not have his will, he goes to London to y<sup>e</sup> King, and complaines against us; and y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid 8 friends sent up an Agent to London, on purpose to waite upon another Agent there, to observe y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Motions, and to endeavour y<sup>e</sup> Counter-working of his designs against us, in giving a true Accompt to y<sup>e</sup> king, by some Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Councell and y<sup>e</sup> Duke, of y<sup>e</sup> Peaceableness of y<sup>e</sup> City before y<sup>e</sup> Bishop came, and of his furyous actings and proceedings against us. Thus, not with little cost, we held out our meetings as formerly above four Months, and kept our Pastours with us.

But though we had many good words from y<sup>e</sup> Courte, giveing hopes of continuing our Libertyes longer, yett in y<sup>e</sup> 12 Month, Feb. An<sup>o</sup> 1674, y<sup>e</sup> King, (somewhat before y<sup>e</sup> Parliament's sitting, then coming nigh,) he sett forth a Proclamation (as) against Papists, but in y<sup>e</sup> latter end of it Declared that all y<sup>e</sup> Lycenses formerly given to y<sup>e</sup> Dissenters were made void.

*Then y<sup>e</sup> Bishop* and his clergy greatly rejoiced that now they should have their wills on us; for now our foundation Plea at Law, by Lycenses, was taken away. Therefore y<sup>e</sup> Bishop, being come home, and his Tribe, very speedily begin vigorously to bestir themselves, and lose no time: for y<sup>e</sup> very same weeke this Proclamation came down to make void y<sup>e</sup> Lycenses, y<sup>e</sup> Bishop, with divers of his clergy, gott some of y<sup>e</sup> Aldermen and some of y<sup>e</sup> Military Officers together, and goes to Mr. Thompson's meeting, in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, upon y<sup>e</sup> 4th day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke, his Lecture in y<sup>e</sup> Middle of y<sup>e</sup> weeke, being y<sup>e</sup> 10th day of y<sup>e</sup> 12 Month, Feb. 1674; where findeing of him preaching, they after search mett with him, (where y<sup>e</sup> People had conveighed him away, in another parte of y<sup>e</sup> house, against y<sup>e</sup> freenesse of his owne minde). And soe they laid hands on him, and brought him before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, to his Mansion house, where, after long Examination and discourse, about Nine of y<sup>e</sup> Clock at night, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Bishop, and some Aldermen Commit *Mr. Thompson* to Newgate Prisson for 6 months. Then, as follows, they Imprisson other Ministers.

MEMORANDUM. Y<sup>e</sup> workes of y<sup>e</sup> Lord are worthy our consideration, for a Meteor, or Comett, appeared but y<sup>e</sup> Last day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke before they began to Imprisson these Ministers.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 6th day of y<sup>e</sup> 12th Month, or Feb. 1674, being Saturday, about 6 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in y<sup>e</sup> evening, there was a fiery Apparition appeared in y<sup>e</sup> Aire on y<sup>e</sup> North-West side of y<sup>e</sup> Citty, as it were over James's. Att first it appeared like a Boyes kite, y<sup>e</sup> head of it Oval and like fire, with a Taile streaming white and growing longer, and y<sup>e</sup> head lesser, till it seemed to be Ten yeards long. It moved but slowly, and went along leisurely, like y<sup>e</sup> Motion of a Kite, fromward James's towards Lawford's Gate, in Bristoll, being a good while in our Sight; and y<sup>e</sup> houses made us lose y<sup>e</sup> sight of it over Lawford's Gate.

This Appeared in Bristoll said day, and was seen by Divers. Mr. Hardcastle, and others with him, saw it at his house in y<sup>e</sup> Castle; and one of Broth. Terrill's family, near Lawford's Gate, saw it.

*Then* UPON y<sup>e</sup> 14th day of said 12th month, Feb. 1674, y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day following Mr. Thompson's commitment, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Ralph Ollive, with Alderman Hicks and Alderman Lawford, and y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's serjeants, came to Mr. Weekes' meeting, and to our Meeting; and they finding Mr. Hardcastle preaching, as alsoe Mr. Weekes, they Carryed them both away, and committed them to y<sup>e</sup> Custodie of a Chief constable untill y<sup>e</sup> Morrow. Then Mr. Hard-

castle and Mr. Weekes were brought before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, to y<sup>e</sup> Towlzy, where y<sup>e</sup> Oathes in y<sup>e</sup> Corporation Act were tendered them. But they no wayes embracing it were againe committed to y<sup>e</sup> Constable untill y<sup>e</sup> Evening, and then sent to Newgate Prisson, to Mr. Thompson. And when Sheriff Fielding, about 10 o'Clock at Night, had brought them to y<sup>e</sup> Prisson door, he deridingly bid Mr. Weekes take his leave of all his *holy Brethren*.

Now, three of our Ministers being Imprissoned, some of Each congregation, of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren, mett together to Consult how to Carry on our meetings, that we might keepe to our duty, and Edify one another now our Pastours were gone. Some even were ready of thinking to give off, viz., of y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterians; that they could not carry it on, Because of their Principle was not to hear a man not bred up at y<sup>e</sup> university, and not Ordained. But y<sup>e</sup> Lord appeared, and helped us to prevaile with them to hold on, and keep up their meetings. And for y<sup>e</sup> first, and some time, we concluded this; to Come and Assemble together, and for one to Pray and read a Chapter, and then sing a Psalme, and after conclude with Prayer; and soe two Brethren to carry on y<sup>e</sup> Meeting one day, and two another, for a while,—to try what they would doe with us. Soe we did, and Ordered one of y<sup>e</sup> doors of our meeting place to be made fast, and all to come in at one, but open it when we goe forth; And to appoint some youth, or two of them, to be out at y<sup>e</sup> door every meeting, to Watch when Hellier or other informers or officers were coming, and soe to come in, one of them, and give us notice thereof. Alsoe, some of y<sup>e</sup> hearers, women and Sisters, would Sitt and Crowde in y<sup>e</sup> Staires, when we did begin y<sup>e</sup> Meeting with any Exercise, that soe y<sup>e</sup> Informers might not too Suddainely come in upon us; by reason of which they were prevented divers times.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 21 day of 12 mo., Feb. 1674, being y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day after our Pastour was Imprissoned, Hellier comes about to our meetings with his man and officers. In y<sup>e</sup> morning goes to Mr. Gifford's, and findes him preaching; which he Informs y<sup>e</sup> Mayor therof, for his Conviction, that if they Ketch him after that day of his Conviction in y<sup>e</sup> Corporation they might imprisson him, as y<sup>e</sup> other ministers. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoone he goes to Mr. Weekes', and carryes away divers to prisson. Then comes to our meeting, and findeing that door we came in to be, with People and women in y<sup>e</sup> staires, soe Thronged that they could not get in;—though they did hale severall, and pulled Mrs. Bush downe staires, yet could not gett up through them;—then they went to y<sup>e</sup> other door, and broake it open. And then they rusht in upon us that way, and took observation of y<sup>e</sup> names of them they counted Chief, and Carryed away Broth. Courtney with them before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and Mr. Sam. Tipton and Mr. Joseph White, whom they stroke very violently, and bound them over to answer for meeting.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 28th of y<sup>e</sup> 12 Month, 1674, y<sup>e</sup> Informers come to our

meetings again. And at Br. Gifford's meeting, Hellier, with y<sup>e</sup> Officers, finds him preaching againe; and now haveing a Warrant for him, they Carry him away before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who bindes him to appear y<sup>e</sup> next day; which being y<sup>e</sup> 1st of March, or y<sup>e</sup> first Month, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor committs Mr. Gifford to prisson, to y<sup>e</sup> Three Ministers before, for 6 months.

BUT one of y<sup>e</sup> Ministers, namely *Mr. Thompson* who was first imprissoned, was very Sick when he came in, And although divers persons of note in this Citty, in y<sup>e</sup> Compassion of their hearts for this sick Minister, did goe to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Sheriffs, and to Sr John Knight, to gett leave that he might be permitted to goe home; but they could not prevaile. And his Physician Interceded that he might be removed out of that Stincking prisson, to some convenient house for Aire, and to Administer somewhat more conveniently to him, and he shewed y<sup>e</sup> Danger of his condition; Yett notwithstanding they hardened their hearts, and would not graunt it, Because y<sup>e</sup> Bishop would not give leave.

SOE THAT UPON y<sup>e</sup> 4th of March, 1674 following, at 12 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in y<sup>e</sup> night, Mr. Thompson, y<sup>e</sup> said Imprissoned Minister for Jesus Christ, he *Departed* this life, in Newgate Prisson. He was a Corpulent, tall, big man; haveing layen in Prisson but about Three weekes 2 dayes; of that he was Sick about one weeke. Wherefore, being gross, could not keepe him; soe that y<sup>e</sup> next day, being y<sup>e</sup> 5th of March, he was Honourably Interred at Phillips's; Being Carried from y<sup>e</sup> Prisson to his grave; And was accompanied with all sorte of Professors, (Except Quakers,) insoemuch that y<sup>e</sup> Like funerall for Number had not been seen in Bristoll in y<sup>e</sup> Memory of this generation; being Judged by some to be not less than five thousand people of all sortes: which made y<sup>e</sup> Adversaryes Admire. Such honour have all His Saints.

Now all y<sup>e</sup> foresaid Churches, our Ministers being taken from us, one dead, and y<sup>e</sup> rest Imprissoned, and we feared their death likewise in such a Bad Prisson, and we being pursued closely every meeting, hardly one Escaped, but we were followed by y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men, Hellier, or other informers, and officers from y<sup>e</sup> Mayor. For our Partes, at our Meeting, we presently made use of our ministering gifts in y<sup>e</sup> Church, (as we did in former persecutions, Contenting ourselves with meane gifts and coarse fare in y<sup>e</sup> want of Better). Wherefore we considered which way to Maintaine our Meetings, by preserving our Speakers.

In order to which, at our owne Meeting, to prevent Spies that might come in y<sup>e</sup> Roome as hearers,—and yet that noe strangers, or persons we knew not, might be hindered from coming into our Meeting, whether good or Bad, to hear y<sup>e</sup> Gospell,—we *Contrived a Curtaine* to be hung in y<sup>e</sup> Meeting place, that did inclose as much roome as above 50 might sitt within it, and among those men, he that preached should stand; that soe if any Informer was private in y<sup>e</sup> Roome as a hearer he might hear him that

spake, but could not see him, and therby not know him. And there were brethren without y<sup>e</sup> Curtaine, that would hinder any from goeing within y<sup>e</sup> Curtaine, that they did not know to be friends: And soe lett whosoe would come into our meeting to hear without y<sup>e</sup> Curtaine. And when our Company and time were come to begin y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, we drew y<sup>e</sup> Curtaine, and filled up y<sup>e</sup> Staires with women and maides that sate in it, That y<sup>e</sup> Informers, could not quickly run up. And when we had notice that y<sup>e</sup> Informers or Officers, were coming, we caused y<sup>e</sup> Minister, or Brother that preached, to forbear, and sitt downe. Then we drew back y<sup>e</sup> Curtaine, laying y<sup>e</sup> whole roome open, that they might see us all. And soe all y<sup>e</sup> People begin to sing a Psalme, that at y<sup>e</sup> Beginning of y<sup>e</sup> Meeting we did alwayes name what Psalme we would sing, if y<sup>e</sup> Informers, or y<sup>e</sup> Mayor or his Officers come in; thus still when they came in we were Singing, that they could not finde any one preaching, but all Singing. And, at our Meeting, we ordered it soe, that None read y<sup>e</sup> Psalme after y<sup>e</sup> first line, but every one bring their bibles, and soe read for themselves; that they might not lay hold of any one for preaching, or as much as reading y<sup>e</sup> Psalme, and so to imprisson any more for that, as they had our Ministers.

Which meanes y<sup>e</sup> Lord blessed, that many times when y<sup>e</sup> Mayor came they were all Singing, that he knew not who to take away more than another. And soe when y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Hellier, or y<sup>e</sup> other informers, had taken our names, and done what they would, and carryed away whom they pleased, and when they were gone downe out of our Roomes, Then we ceased Singing, and drew y<sup>e</sup> Curtaine againe, and y<sup>e</sup> Minister, or Brother, would goe on with y<sup>e</sup> rest of his Sermon, untill they came againe, (which sometimes they would thrice in one meeting disturb us,) or untill our time was Expired. This was our Constant manner during this persecution in Ollive's Mayoralty, and we were by y<sup>e</sup> Lord helped that we were in a good measure Edified, and our Enimies often disappointed. *Laus Deo.*

Wee taking this course, after a little while Mr. Weekes' people did soe likewise. They Shutt up one of their doors, and, instead of a Curtaine, they putt a wainscott Board in a Convenient place in their Meeting, behinde which he that spake did stand out of sight of y<sup>e</sup> greatest parte of y<sup>e</sup> People, and yet all might hear. And they suffer none to come into that Parte of y<sup>e</sup> Meeting but friends. And soe, when y<sup>e</sup> Informers come, they had y<sup>e</sup> Convenience to convey him that spake out of that parte of y<sup>e</sup> Meeting into another house.

Brother Gifford's people tooke this course. A company of tall Brethren stand about him that speakes, and having near his feet made a trap-door in y<sup>e</sup> floor, when y<sup>e</sup> Informers come, they lett downe y<sup>e</sup> Brother that spake into a room under. And soe their conveniency led them to take that course, keeping one still at y<sup>e</sup> door to give notice.

Mr. Thompson's people were not soe much followed by y<sup>e</sup> Informers, as y<sup>e</sup> other three meetings, for a while; Nor indeed

but little at all, in comparison with Mr. Weekes' meeting and ours; for we did soe fill their hands that, before they could have done with us, their meeting ended.

And soe likewise Mr. Gifford's meeting was frequently sheltered by our two meetings, which lay as y<sup>e</sup> frontiers of their Assaults. But when y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men did some weeke dayes follow Mr. Thompson's meeting, they likewise contrived wayes to frustrate y<sup>e</sup> Informers, and to save their speakers, having lost their Minister as before. Now their meeting place being a lower roome, and two lofts over head one over another, they made a door to y<sup>e</sup> stair-foote into y<sup>e</sup> second Story, and made y<sup>e</sup> Minister stand in that Middle roome; and soe preached that they below and over might all hear. And they caused a Curtaine to be made, that when y<sup>e</sup> Informers came in they might draw that Curtaine before y<sup>e</sup> Ministers, That y<sup>e</sup> informers could not see him that preached, but only hear him, and could not come at him by reason y<sup>e</sup> new door at staire-foot was kept fast, and none suffered to goe up but those that they knew friends. And if they went to breake open y<sup>e</sup> door, before that could be done, they could from that second story convey y<sup>e</sup> Minister away into another house; And if they had timely notice they would be all singing when y<sup>e</sup> Informers came, as we and Mr. Weekes' meeting did. These ways wee tooke to maintaine our Meetings, and y<sup>e</sup> Lord helped us. Thus, in brief, y<sup>e</sup> manner of y<sup>e</sup> four Congregations In generall. But our particular troubles at our Meeting, which is Mr. Hardcastle's, are as follows.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 7th of y<sup>e</sup> first Month, or March, 1674, in y<sup>e</sup> Morning, an Informer came up to us, and findeing one preaching he ran away to fetch Constables, but could finde none; soe we were quiet. But in y<sup>e</sup> Afternoone, that wicked man Hellier, with his man and officers, comes up, and findeing us singing they command us to depart, but none did. Then they goe up and downe y<sup>e</sup> room, and take our Names, and then departe to other meetings.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of y<sup>e</sup> first Month, or March, 1674, our Congregation being mett at Br. Terrill's, (and all y<sup>e</sup> four Congregations mett y<sup>e</sup> same day, at severall places, according to our generall appointment, to keepe a day of fasting and prayer,) y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's man John Whiting, and 3 serjeants, came with a warrant from y<sup>e</sup> Mayor to search Brother Terrill's house for a Meeting, and to take in their Custody whom they thought meet; but Br. Terrill denyed them entrance. Whereupon they returned in great rage to fetch another warrant to Breake open y<sup>e</sup> doors, and y<sup>e</sup> Mayor graunted them Such a Warrant, to Breake open y<sup>e</sup> doors. Then they come againe, and knock at y<sup>e</sup> gate with great violence; but Br. Terrill, understanding their power, gave order that none should answer them, But lett them knock and breake open y<sup>e</sup> door if they would. And he spake to y<sup>e</sup> friends in y<sup>e</sup> meeting to trust in God, and not fear; y<sup>e</sup> greatest danger would lie upon him, if any; therfore wisht them to goe on in y<sup>e</sup> Path of their duty, and continue praying to God; which they

did. And y<sup>e</sup> Lord put a Spirit of Fear into y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants' hearts that they would not Execute y<sup>e</sup> Warrant to breake open y<sup>e</sup> Gate, though y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's man pressed them very much. Soe, after long knocking and waiteing, when none this second time answered them, they departed. EBEN EZER. *Laus Deo*.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 14 day of first Month, March, being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day following, 1674, y<sup>e</sup> Informers and officers were very Rude, and used much violence. In y<sup>e</sup> Morning, before y<sup>e</sup> Meeting's Exercise began, Hellier and his hair-lipped man, Tho. Eyre, came up into our meeting, and sate down in a Chair for a while, then departes to a Constable, a barber, that lived over against our Meeting-house, and brought y<sup>e</sup> said Constable with him; by which time, we haveing begun, and understanding of his againe coming, we were singing when they came in. This Hellier commands us all in y<sup>e</sup> King's name, and by a Warrant from y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, to departe; which y<sup>e</sup> People not obeying, Hellier comes to Brother Terrill sitting within y<sup>e</sup> inside of y<sup>e</sup> table, and commands him in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to departe, saying he was a ringleader. But Br. Terrill sitting still, and singing with y<sup>e</sup> rest, Hellier lays Violent hands on him, takeing him by y<sup>e</sup> Arme, and pluckt him very hard. But not being able to Stirr him from y<sup>e</sup> place he commands y<sup>e</sup> Constable to take him, and bring him away; who more gently put his hand upon Br. Terrill, being by Hellier commanded, and by him menaced. But Br. Terrill not Stirring, Hellier bids y<sup>e</sup> Constable to Command any one at y<sup>e</sup> Table to assist him; but y<sup>e</sup> Constable said, Doe you bring him, and I will assist you. Soe they stood for a while, and y<sup>e</sup> people kept singing. Then, By and By, three or four serjeants came to assist him. Hellier thereupon Commands one of them to Bring away Br. Terrill. Soe a Third came and pluckt him by y<sup>e</sup> hand, and then by y<sup>e</sup> Cloathes of his Arme, but could not move him from y<sup>e</sup> Seate. Then y<sup>e</sup> Serjeant prayed and Entreated him to departe and come with him, and tooke Br. Terrill's hat off y<sup>e</sup> Table, and put it on his head; but Br. Terrill pluckt it off againe, because he and they were still singing. And soe y<sup>e</sup> Serjeant would put it on againe, and Br. Terrill would pluck it off. Soe 3 or 4 times they did. Thus haveing pretty well Tired themselves, and not prevaileing, being loath in themselves to use too much violence towards him, they left him; and tooke some names, and soe departed.

In y<sup>e</sup> afternoone of said day, Hellier, with his man, and 4 or 5 of y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's Serjeants, and three or more from y<sup>e</sup> Bishop, came up into our Meeting, which being thronged though large, with much adoe gott towards y<sup>e</sup> Midst of y<sup>e</sup> People, where some grave women sate in Chaires, whom Hellier and y<sup>e</sup> serjeants pushed, and hauled very rudely. Especially S. Ekly, an ancient Gentlewoman, they hauled to have her out of her chair, that they might goe farther; but she keeping her seate they step on a Bench, and stride over a raile,—first, Rob. Edwards y<sup>e</sup> serjeant, then Whiting

y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's man, a desperate fellow, who, as soon as he had gott behinde her, pluckt old Mrs. Ekly's chair by y<sup>e</sup> Back. But she keepeing her seate, he, striveing much, heaved y<sup>e</sup> Chaire, and soe threw y<sup>e</sup> Gent. out of it; and then in much rage and great vehemency, threw y<sup>e</sup> chaire about three yeards from him, and, had there not been a Raile, might have spoiled some of y<sup>e</sup> women behinde. When this was done, they pluckt and hauled a young man that lived with a Merchant, one of y<sup>e</sup> Councell, and because he would not tell his name, carryed him away; and soe putt downe divers names, such as they knew. But coming to a Bro. Mr. Sam Buttall, that about 3 Months before came to us from London, a person they knew not, and demanding his name, because that he would not tell they were very furious towards him; and Rob. Edwards y<sup>e</sup> serjeant, (Hellier being by,) pluckt and hauled him very much to carry him also away, thrust his Mace under his Arme, to loose his hand from a Raile; but not being able to move him from his place Two of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men, his Coachman and Sexton, throng to come at him, and used much Violence to him; one pulling him, y<sup>e</sup> other thrusting and striveing to loose his Arme, untill y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Sexton did sweat againe, that he wiped his face with his handkerchief. Att last he tould them his name, and then they left that Gent., and go on taking names.

They meet with another Stranger they knew not, A Person of good worth, that was tall and grey, who had lately come to y<sup>e</sup> Citty upon y<sup>e</sup> sad occasion of y<sup>e</sup> death of his Sonn, that was a tanner, and to his Funerall; taking care about his Sonn's widdow, &c. Him they likewise pull and haule, because he would not readily tell his name; but after they had used much violence towards him he tells them his name. But they, not content with that, would know where he lived; which he not willing to tell they fall upon him againe, hauling and pulling of him, but could not gett him out of y<sup>e</sup> Seate where he was. Then some of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men gatt hold of his legges, others of his Armes, and Soe with much violence dragged him out, and Carryed him away to Bridewell; where he remained some time, and then was Committed to Newgate.

Thus after these and divers other abuses to others, and bad Languages, Hellier calling some grave women Confident Jades, and bid y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants carry y<sup>e</sup> man away on a *Stang*,<sup>49</sup> at last they departed. Y<sup>e</sup> People kept singing all y<sup>e</sup> while. Then our time being Expired we concluded with Prayer, and soe ended that day.

UPON *this day, in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, being y<sup>e</sup> 14th of first Month, 1674*, Our aged Sister Hazzard departed, in y<sup>e</sup> Close of y<sup>e</sup> sabbath, to her Eternall Sabbath of rest. She was y<sup>e</sup> First woman member in y<sup>e</sup> Congregation. She lived to a greate age, and came to her grave a shock of Come fully ripe.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 21 day, first month, y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, Hellier and

<sup>49</sup> Stang, i.e., "a pole or stake on which a criminal could be tied and paraded through the streets for public humiliation". (OED)



his two men, with two of y<sup>e</sup> bishop's men and four or five Serjeants, came in to our Meeting, between Ten and 11th hour. They command us, in y<sup>e</sup> King's name, to departe; but, y<sup>e</sup> People being Singing, none regard it. Then they goe up and downe taking names. Soe when our time was Expired we departed, leaving y<sup>e</sup> officers there.

Anno 1675. UPON y<sup>e</sup> 28th day, March An<sup>o</sup> 1675, this Lord's day in y<sup>e</sup> Morning we were quiett; by reason y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, with some Aldermen, Serjeants, and informers, were busie at Mr. Weekes' meeting. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoone, near half an hour before our time was Expired, John Hellier, Alderman Streamer, and their men, and two of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men, with severall of y<sup>e</sup> Constables, came up into our Meeting. Pulling several women away they gott into y<sup>e</sup> Middle of y<sup>e</sup> People, and command them in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to departe; but, y<sup>e</sup> People singing, none heeded what they said, but sate still. Then Alderman Streamer commands their attendants to lay hold on such and such, and take them away; among whom Br. Dickason was laid hold on; and then such made no resistance, but departed at y<sup>e</sup> order of a Justice. And then they commanded Br. Dickason to aid them in their hauling persons away; which he refusing Hellier orders brother Dickason to be carried away to Bridewell. Then, findeing y<sup>e</sup> worke to be hard in y<sup>e</sup> Throng of y<sup>e</sup> People, they secure y<sup>e</sup> Doors,—ye Bishop's men at one Door, and Alderman Streamer and Hellier at y<sup>e</sup> other Door, And soe take every one's name as they goe forth. Which as they were doing, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor coming from Mr. Thompson's meeting, with his serjeants, and Alderman Hicks, Sheriff Wharton, and Deputy Colston, who raged very much, because there was such abundance of people; insoemuch that from y<sup>e</sup> time they came, untill they had done takeing of names, was about an hour and a halfes time. And many more people gathered about y<sup>e</sup> door where they stood in y<sup>e</sup> Street, that there was a Multitude all along y<sup>e</sup> Broadmead, Hellier mocking many as they gave their names.

And Hellier beat Mrs. Bushes son with his staff; and Alderman Streamer sent away Sister Ellis y<sup>e</sup> Elder, after she had tould her name, to Bridewell, because she would not tell whither she was a wife or a widow; and called her ould Carrion. Thus this grave gentlewoman and Ancient Cittizen was, as others, abused. But as y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's man, y<sup>e</sup> Sexton, was goeing with her to Bridewell, some Boyes and young men, (knowing him that conducted her to Prisson was no Civill officer,) they rusht between y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's man and Mrs. Ellis, and pusht her into a house on James's Back. And soe he lost her, and came back to y<sup>e</sup> alderman and complained; who stormed about it, but could not finde her.

And y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, at y<sup>e</sup> same time, sent away Sister Brookes maid, (By Reason she would not tell her name,) to Newgate. Thus they used them, and others mocked Gentlewomen, and Masters of ships' wives, with such filthy Expressions not meet to be named; Hellier

calling some men *Rogues*. In y<sup>e</sup> Evening, Bro. Dickason was released, upon his word to appear y<sup>e</sup> 4th day following; and then, upon his Tryall, because he would not give Sureties for y<sup>e</sup> good behaviour untill y<sup>e</sup> Sessions, he was committed to Newgate. And they would not then take Sureties for his appearance, although he was Illegally sent to Newgate, and first to Bridewell, by y<sup>e</sup> Order of no Justice of y<sup>e</sup> Peace, only by Hellier y<sup>e</sup> Informer. And, at his Tryall, this being alleged, Alderman Hicks owned it, and said, He Ordered him to be carryed to Bridewell; which was very untrue, for Alderman Hicks came not to our meeting untill after Broth. Dickason was carryed away. Thus may be seen how y<sup>e</sup> Alderman Justified these wicked informers.

NOW our meetings in y<sup>e</sup> weeke, or working dayes, for these two weekes last past, were very quiet; Praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, who brought it about by this meanes. Our meetings, of y<sup>e</sup> 4 Congregations, were severall years past thus Laid;—That of one Church or another there was a Meeting every day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke, in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, beginning about 4 or 5 o’Clock, for 2 hours, except y<sup>e</sup> last day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke. Which meetings y<sup>e</sup> Informers did hunt Constantly, and then y<sup>e</sup> next day gave in their Informations to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Aldermen. Soe that through their graunt-ing of warrants, and sending their Serjeants, and raising Constables, to Suppress us in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, and then y<sup>e</sup> next Morning receiving Informations and Tryalls,—for we putt them still to prove what was done there,—y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates were tired and grew much weary; Complaining they could doe little Else at y<sup>e</sup> Towlzy but Matters about Meetings. Whereupon they appoint but one day in y<sup>e</sup> Weeke to hear such businesse; because as men laden with heavy burdens (as Zion will be a burdensome stone to all that afflict her), they take time to Breathe, that they may recover strength to Act with more violence y<sup>e</sup> Lord’s day. By this way, all keeping Constant to our places and duty, y<sup>e</sup> Lord many times gave us rest, and food for our Soules, when we should worke for our Bodies; (and but y<sup>e</sup> Lord’s day to Witnesse for him).

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 4th of 2d month, April, 1675, being y<sup>e</sup> day they call Easter, our Adversaries being busy upon a Superstitious Accompt, we had Rest and peace. Y<sup>e</sup> Proud, fierce Prelate, having received y<sup>e</sup> Sop, y<sup>e</sup> next Morning, very Early, hasted away to London about his Master’s worke, and in order to his Sitting in Parliament, (which was to be y<sup>e</sup> 13th Instant, wherein he Strenuously endeavoured against us, But through y<sup>e</sup> Lord effected little.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 11 day, and y<sup>e</sup> 18th day, we had rest; only then y<sup>e</sup> old Informer, y<sup>e</sup> Bishop’s Sexton Whiteing, came up into our Meeting, and findeing one Preaching he Attempted to see who it was, but could not for y<sup>e</sup> Curtaine.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 25th day of y<sup>e</sup> 2d month, An<sup>o</sup> 1675, we were againe greatly troubled. In y<sup>e</sup> Morning, that wicked man Hellier came up into our meeting himselfe alone, and not findeing y<sup>e</sup> Brother

that was Exercised speakeing went downe again; and Near an hour after comes up againe, with y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's man Whiteing, and commands us in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to departe. Y<sup>e</sup> People keepe on singing, and regard him not. Then y<sup>e</sup> Constables that they brought with them they put at y<sup>e</sup> Door to keepe it, that no more might come in;—of which we had some Intimation y<sup>e</sup> Evening before, was their designe to keepe us out;—wherefore we sent up and downe from one to another to come betimes, and gett into our place before y<sup>e</sup> Constables and officers came. And soe we were very comfortably mett early, and continued y<sup>e</sup> Exercise, only y<sup>e</sup> Interruption aforesaid, untill about halfe an hour past 11. Then we gave liberty for those that were weake, or otherwise not able, to departe; y<sup>e</sup> rest stayed in y<sup>e</sup> Place, for fear we should not gett in againe. (And soe they served Mr. Weekes' people; they going all home they kept them out in y<sup>e</sup> afternoone, and Hellier dined in their place; and they threw their Chaires and stools out in y<sup>e</sup> Street, and some in y<sup>e</sup> River at James's Back).

But y<sup>e</sup> Constables at our door when some of y<sup>e</sup> People went away they likewise went home to Dinner, and our friends that went home, with others, came together to y<sup>e</sup> rest in y<sup>e</sup> Afternoone timely. And as Broth. Terrill was speakeing, about two of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, or near it, Two of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men coming in finde us then singing. Then they goe away, and halfe an hour after y<sup>e</sup> Mayor of y<sup>e</sup> Citty and Alderman Streamer, with Several officers, come up into our Meeting; and y<sup>e</sup> Mayor findeing us only singing, and none read y<sup>e</sup> Psalme, in greate Rage and Passion he strikes one man's Bible out of his hand soe fierce, that y<sup>e</sup> Booke fled over y<sup>e</sup> People's head, three or four yeards from him, among y<sup>e</sup> People. Then in said rage y<sup>e</sup> Mayor commands us in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to departe, but y<sup>e</sup> People keep on singing, looking on their bookes; which y<sup>e</sup> Mayor perceiving that none departed, he fell on us by threats, that he had given us warning. Then y<sup>e</sup> Mayor went downe to y<sup>e</sup> Door, and commanded it to be kept, and suffered none to goe forth but as they gave their Names. And as they came forth, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor sent three, namely Br. Simpson that aged disciple and Mr. Hill with Matthew Price, to Newgate Prisson; where he had sent Six of Mr. Weekes meeting y<sup>e</sup> same day, as they mett in y<sup>e</sup> street before their door because they kept them out; and Charged them as persons Guilty of a Ryot: and broake into y<sup>e</sup> Man's house, out of whose window y<sup>e</sup> Minister preached to y<sup>e</sup> People; but y<sup>e</sup> Minister Escaped when y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff broake in. This day Whiteing y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's man Broake our Pulpit. And thus they trampled upon us.

This weeke y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men Informers are very busie, from meeting to meeting, every day. And soe they come to our Publike meeting, which was y<sup>e</sup> fifth day of y<sup>e</sup> Weeke. This being y<sup>e</sup> 29th day of 2d Month, 1675, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's Serjeants came up to us; viz., Rob. Edwards with Wilkins and Cable Buck and y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's two

men came into our meeting, and would not departe until we departed, Commanding us to be gone. And because they would not they Pull and haule Brother Terrill very much; and because Rob. Edwards could not make him departe he sends an officer to acquaint y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who returned with an Order to bring Br. Terrill before him; who then went with them. And coming before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, after some debate, he said he would send him to prisson. Hellier being in y<sup>e</sup> Roome with Sheriff Little and some others, Bro. Terrill desired of y<sup>e</sup> Mayor to know by what Law he would send him to prisson; who Answered, If he did Act contrary to Law, he might have his remedy against him. Againe, Br. Terrill desired his worship to lett him know his offence, for what he would send him to prisson. He said,—For being at a Meeting. Br. Terrill answered,—His being barely at a Meeting did not make him an Offender, unlesse there was something done there that made y<sup>e</sup> meeting Criminall. Y<sup>e</sup> Mayor said, We were singing. I tould him, Singing of Psalmes was not Contrary to y<sup>e</sup> Liturgie of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England. Then Hellier complained to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor that I was y<sup>e</sup> Ringleader, and he did believe I was their preacher, and that he could do noe good if y<sup>e</sup> Mayor did suffer such as I. Y<sup>e</sup> Mayor joyning said, It was soe; I was one of y<sup>e</sup> heads. Br. Terrill said, We owned no head but Jesus Christ. Then y<sup>e</sup> Mayor would make this Construction, That I did not owne y<sup>e</sup> king to be head. Br. Terrill said, Not so, Sir; I owne y<sup>e</sup> Kinge to be *Supreme head of y<sup>e</sup> Nation*, though Christ is *head of y<sup>e</sup> Church*. But y<sup>e</sup> Mayor insisted that Br. Terrill should be sent to Prisson, if he would not give bond for y<sup>e</sup> good Behaviour; (whereby they meant to Tie from going to meetings). Broth. Terrill refusing soe to doe, y<sup>e</sup> Serjeant was commanded to take him away to Prisson. Whereupon, Br. Terrill seeing no way to avoid their present heat, he desired y<sup>e</sup> Mayor to give him a little time to Consider of it, but untill y<sup>e</sup> Morrow Morning; which y<sup>e</sup> Mayor graunted, upon his promise then to appear. And Br. Terrill did soe y<sup>e</sup> next Morning appear at y<sup>e</sup> Towlzy; but y<sup>e</sup> Mayor would not come to y<sup>e</sup> Towlzy that morning. Soe he was cleared then.

Y<sup>e</sup> Mayor having sent soe many to prisson, *Threatened* he would send *Ten* times as many y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day as he had before; yett, UPON y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, being y<sup>e</sup> 2d day of y<sup>e</sup> 3d Month, 1675, y<sup>e</sup> Lord wrought strangely for us. For when we gott into our Meetings betimes in y<sup>e</sup> morning we kept in, and went not to dinner untill all our time was over for that day, (as we did y<sup>e</sup> day before). Soe did Mr. Weekes' people then; and Hellier and y<sup>e</sup> Constables could not gett them out. Then y<sup>e</sup> Mayor sent for two of y<sup>e</sup> Chiefest of them, namely Mr. Christmas and Mr. Thompson y<sup>e</sup> Merchant, before him; and after reasoning with them, Threatened them that he would come downe to y<sup>e</sup> Meeting in y<sup>e</sup> afternoone. They tould y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, If he did, he should finde them there, *in y<sup>e</sup> Path of their duty, waiteing upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord*. But y<sup>e</sup> Lord altered

y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's minde that he came not then. Soe y<sup>e</sup> trouble that day lay most upon Mr. Weekes' meeting, y<sup>e</sup> said Hellier and officers staying there. We were in peace; only y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's two men came in and viewed us in y<sup>e</sup> Afternoone.

THEN TWO OR three Lord's days we had rest and peace; *Praise to y<sup>e</sup> Lord!* for Hellier now at Tearme time was gone to London, and y<sup>e</sup> Bishop there before. In y<sup>e</sup> absence of these troublers of our Israell we had Rest.

Now two of our Friends that were Imprissoned, had removed themselves by Habeas Corpus to London, to have their cause tryed at y<sup>e</sup> King's Bench, and alsoe two of our Ministers, viz. Mr. Hardcastle and Mr. Weekes. *Habeas Corpus*<sup>50</sup> was sent downe to them to bring them up, to Try if their *Mittimus* was good according to Law. And though they had Illegally proceeded against them here, Yett through some Influenced Councillors, and by y<sup>e</sup> false Witsnesse y<sup>e</sup> Mayor sent up, even his own Sonn young Ralph Ollive, swearing falsely, they were by y<sup>e</sup> Court remaunded back to Bristoll as Prissoners, but with an Order that y<sup>e</sup> Sheriffs should provide a better prisson for them.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 15 day of 3d Month, 1675, being y<sup>e</sup> day of their Tryall at y<sup>e</sup> Court of Westminster in London, y<sup>e</sup> four Congregations that were here in Bristoll under persecution, viz., some of Mr. Weekes' and Mr. Hardcastle's, some of Mr. Thompson's and Mr. Gifford's, mett together, (to *Humble* themselves before y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and to seeke his face for their Two Ministers, and two Brethren, on their Tryall in London aforesaid); and, being come early in y<sup>e</sup> Morning, assembled in y<sup>e</sup> Castle in y<sup>e</sup> meeting-place of Mr. Thompson, deceased. One of each Congregation prayed; and then they went round againe,—soe that Eight brethren prayed, and a Minister concluded (that was of neither of y<sup>e</sup> Congregations),—from 7 in y<sup>e</sup> Morning to 12 at Noone. Which union, and joynt praying together, was Much liked of, by all parties thus being driven together by this universall trouble.

Endeavours were used, (why should we not?) to Strengthen ourselves against y<sup>e</sup> Bishop and his Abbettors, to meet all together upon y<sup>e</sup> weeke dayes, and turne our four Lectures into one, and by Turne to be managed by all; soe that, whereas Every Church did keepe and hold up one lecture a-piece, a Generall lecture should be kept every weeke for all. Soe that they would still have one lecture to which all might come; which would by y<sup>e</sup> Conjunction be very numerous, thereby more Formidable and Terrible to y<sup>e</sup> Adversary, if we did so unite. To this end each Congregation at their day of Prayer appointed some of their brethren to Meet, and discourse this businesse of *Union*, upon y<sup>e</sup> 24 instant; and accord-

<sup>50</sup> Habeas Corpus. A writ requiring a person to be brought before a judge specifically to investigate the lawfulness of the restraining person. In 1679 a law was passed which facilitated the use of Habeas Corpus. Mittimus. A warrant authorising the committal of a person to prison.

**Of Mr. Weekes' Congregation,**

Mr. Doleman,

Of Mr. Hardcastle's, our Congregation,

**Br. Gwilliam,**

**Br. Terrill.**

Mr. Hughs,

Mr. Wike.

**Br. Teather.**

To y<sup>e</sup> second Three of y<sup>e</sup> Congregations agreed as to matter and forme, and also some of brother Gifford's people were for it, but others of them could not sing in Metre, as they were Translated, though all of them did hold that singing of Psalmes. Only some scrupled y<sup>e</sup> Manner, that they could not shew their dislike thereof by keeping on y<sup>e</sup> hat, or going forth; which thing soe to doe would not be consented unto by y<sup>e</sup> Three other Congregations.

But they Terminated it here; That, if we did soe agree in union, that such Persons were desired to stay away, if they would not keep off their hatts, and *Sitt Still*.

To y<sup>e</sup> third, we were all for an Orderly Ministry, and to have a Scripturall call, or else not to Preach; and to have those that were ministers in office to be ordained by laying on of hands.

But forasmuch as it was matter of Principle who were y<sup>e</sup> Persons fitt to ordaine, we would lay aside that, and not dispute our Principles in that respect, but goe to our matter of Practice. We did all know each other's Ministers; our businesse lay there that we should joyne to hear them, every one, when out of Prisson. And for y<sup>e</sup> Present distresse we judged it our duty to make use of y<sup>e</sup> best gifts we had, and soe to hear them as gifted brethren, and not as Ministerially called.

As to y<sup>e</sup> fourth, that in this Meeting of union none should preach up Baptisme of Believers, nor any other should preach against it.

This was to be declared to each Church, and then to meet about it againe, y<sup>e</sup> last day of y<sup>e</sup> Weeke. Accordingly, on y<sup>e</sup> 29th instant, y<sup>e</sup> Brethren appointed of y<sup>e</sup> four Congregations mett about uniting our four particular Lectures into one Generall Lecture, to be managed by turnes by one teacher of each Congregation.

It was agreed by y<sup>e</sup> two Baptized Congregations, viz., our Congregation, and Br. Gifford's Congregation, and by y<sup>e</sup> Members of y<sup>e</sup> Independent Church, Mr. Thompson's, deceased, soe to *unite*. But our friends called Presbyterians were not Satisfied soe to doe, but Pretended at least forbearance untill their Pastour and ours came from London; and so we appointed to meet about it againe a weeke after they came home, y<sup>e</sup> next 2d day se'nnight.

Also then, when we were together upon said 29th day, 3d Month, 1675, we appointed y<sup>e</sup> next fifth day of y<sup>e</sup> week, named Thursday, 3 June, 75, (being y<sup>e</sup> day of Prayer that we now kept dureing this Persecution every fortnight, apart in every Congregation by themselves,) should be kept all together, y<sup>e</sup> four Congregations; and y<sup>e</sup> worke of Prayer should be Carryed on by y<sup>e</sup> Members of Each Congregation *At Mr. Thompson's Meeting-place* in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, near Water Gate.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 5 day of this Instant 4th Month, 1675, our Pastour *Mr. Hardcastle* and Mr. Weekes returned home from London to *Prisson againe*, in Newgate of this City of Bristoll.

Y<sup>e</sup> next day, being Lord's day, y<sup>e</sup> 6 June, 1675, wee haveing had, 3 or 4 Lord's days, our Meetings in Peace, (through Riches of grace, goodnesse, and long-sufferings of y<sup>e</sup> Lord,) dureing one of y<sup>e</sup> chief Instruments of our Persecution being at London. But now that wicked man Mr. Hellier being come home, he caused much trouble this day. At Mr. Weekes' meeting Especially, he with y<sup>e</sup> Constables stayed there, Mocking and Striking some, Pulling and hauling others; and soe both Morning and afternoon he was there, and hindered them that they could not Preach, but sing,

Pray, and read Chapters. And at our Meeting in y<sup>e</sup> Morning, as y<sup>e</sup> Brother (that came to Towne to give us a Visit in this our trouble, namely) *Zephany Smith* was Preaching, about halfe an hour past 10, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Sheriffs, Mr. Wharton and Fielding, and Alderman Crab, with y<sup>e</sup> Sword-bearer and serjeants, came up into our Meeting, and, as formerly, we were Singing. Y<sup>e</sup> Mayor commands us to departe; but all keepe singing, and thereby but few heard what he said, and soe tooke no notice of it, But kept on, every one with their bookes in their hands.

They sing without any one to read y<sup>e</sup> Psalme to them: for according to our late manner since our trouble, wee at y<sup>e</sup> Beginning of y<sup>e</sup> Exercise in our Congregation, did always name y<sup>e</sup> Psalme they should sing if trouble came; and soe every one, with their bookes, read for themselves. And thus doing, when y<sup>e</sup> Mayor spake to some in Particular, such as he accounted chief in y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, to forbear, they would sometimes forbear if y<sup>e</sup> Mayor stood by them; but, notwithstanding, all y<sup>e</sup> People singed Round about his Ears, keeping on, that he with y<sup>e</sup> rest with him knew not what to doe, but went downe y<sup>e</sup> Staires to y<sup>e</sup> door, and there with his officers staid till we had done. So y<sup>e</sup> 11th hour being come he sends up his Serjeants to pray us to departe, and they were answered, some were going forth and they would not lett them goe; which was true. Y<sup>e</sup> Mayor kept one of y<sup>e</sup> doors, and would not let us passe that way, and at y<sup>e</sup> other door had his officers and clerke to take our Names; and soe as we passed out they demand our Names, and write them downe. Thus y<sup>e</sup> Morning was ended; but many people passed into Severall roomes of small Tenements in y<sup>e</sup> house, and soe their names not taken. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon we were quiet, but Mr. Weekes much troubled.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 14th day of y<sup>e</sup> 4 Month, 1675, being y<sup>e</sup> day appointed for some of Each congregation, about y<sup>e</sup> busnesse of Union, to meet, we did accordingly Meet at Mr. Weekes' house; of y<sup>e</sup> 4 Separate churches these brethren, viz. :—

Of Mr. Thompson's congregation,

Mr. Holwey,	Mr. Scroope,	Mr. Wike,
Dr. Chancey,	Mr. Hughs,	Mr. Thompson.

Of Mr. Hardcastle's, our congregation,

Br. Ellis,	Br. Gwilliam,	Br. King,
Br. Dickason,	Br. Terrill.	

Of Mr. Weekes' congregation,

Mr. Chock,	Mr. Thompson,	Mr. Pope,
Mr. Doleman,	Mr. Tucker.	

Of Mr. Gifford's congregation,

Br. Teague,	Br. Window,	Br. Adlam.
-------------	-------------	------------

Our Presbyterian friends, viz., Mr. Weekes' people, or those above named that mett in behalfe of that Congregation, they Declared in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> rest That they were against Uniteing



y<sup>e</sup> Four Lectures into one, or into Two Lectures, as others were for. Soe for their partes they were against any such uniteing. Therefore that debate was ended of uniteing that way. Then after severall debates, in fine, it was by all agreed and consented to That we should *unite* in keepeing some dayes of Prayer Together,—some dayes Stated, and some Occasionall dayes,—as often as need should require That y<sup>e</sup> four Congregations should meet together.

First, we agreed That y<sup>e</sup> first (Sixth day of y<sup>e</sup> week called) fryday in y<sup>e</sup> Month that should happen after every quarter-day of y<sup>e</sup> year, should be y<sup>e</sup> stated day of Prayer, for all y<sup>e</sup> four Congregations to Joyne together in that worke; (That is to say), y<sup>e</sup> first fryday in July, y<sup>e</sup> first fryday in October, y<sup>e</sup> first fryday in January, y<sup>e</sup> first fryday in Aprill, should be y<sup>e</sup> Stated quarter-days for Prayer: and soe continually, four times in y<sup>e</sup> year, to keepe a day for fasting and Prayer for y<sup>e</sup> 4 churches, and only one Minister on each day to preach an hour in y<sup>e</sup> Midst; and that to be y<sup>e</sup> day, unlesse y<sup>e</sup> 8 Brethren, that is y<sup>e</sup> two of Each church's Messengers, doe think meet to alter y<sup>e</sup> day upon some Emergency either earlier or later.

Secondly, alsoe we agreed that besides y<sup>e</sup> said quarterly stated dayes for y<sup>e</sup> four congregations' Joynt Prayer, we should and will for time to come keepe other Occasionall dayes of Fasting and Prayer, as often in each quarter as need shall require, when any one church shall desire it, by sending two messengers from their Congregation to signifie their desire; and leave it with them, y<sup>e</sup> two messengers of each other congregation deputed for their Publique businesse, that they may acquaint their respective Congregations of it, and so Joyne together as often as need.

Thirdly, and lastly, it was agreed concerning y<sup>e</sup> Ordering of ourselves in our Meetings in this day of Trouble, *that none Stirr* from y<sup>e</sup> Meeting when y<sup>e</sup> Informers or any officers come whatsoever. And if y<sup>e</sup> Mayor himselfe come, That we move or departe but very Slowly, (when forced), if he doth much insist on it, and Command our departure. These were our Joynt conclusions for all y<sup>e</sup> Churches at that time.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 13 day of this 4th Month, 1675, SISTER POWLDEN, a member of *Mr. Gosnold's* Congregation in London, by virtue of a letter of Recommendation from him, was admitted into our Congregation.

Then for 4 Lord's dayes we had rest and Peace, through y<sup>e</sup> good hand of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, in y<sup>e</sup> absence of that wicked man Mr. Hellier; he being y<sup>e</sup> chief Instrument y<sup>e</sup> Bishop used in this persecution. He was a Lawyer, and one of y<sup>e</sup> City Attorneys, with about Two hundred pounds per Annum. He being now at *Tearme* in London, we were quiett.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 18th day of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Month, July, 1675, Hellier being come home, he and his man come timely up into our Meeting, (it being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day), and takes his view of us a little before we

began Exercise, then departs to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and sends for some Aldermen. Y<sup>e</sup> Mayor first sends his Serjeants to us, who come up into our Meetings, and in y<sup>e</sup> King's name command us to departe. But all Singing together, no regard was shewne, as though we did not hear. Then they departe, with Threats, (after they had staid some time). And by and by they come againe, commanding us to departe as before, but none obey them. Then they againe departed. After that, about ten of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in y<sup>e</sup> Morning, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor himselfe with Sheriff Wharton and Sheriff Fielding came, with Alderman Hicks, alsoe y<sup>e</sup> Sword-bearer and Serjeants; they came up into our Meeting, and y<sup>e</sup> Mayor commands us all in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to departe. But as they were coming we began to Sing, and soe kept on singing that few heard what he said. Then he calls out to one and to another of y<sup>e</sup> brethren that he knew, and commands them to departe; but they answered not. Then, in a rage and greate fury, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor comes through y<sup>e</sup> People to y<sup>e</sup> Table, and takes hold of Brother *Terrill* by y<sup>e</sup> hand, and pulls him out; who seeing y<sup>e</sup> Mayor himselfe pluckt him said nothing, but went with him a few steps. And so y<sup>e</sup> Mayor delivers him to one of y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants, and commands him to secure y<sup>e</sup> said Broth. *Terrill*.

Then y<sup>e</sup> Mayor calls to other brethren to departe; but all singing, they not answer. Then he commands y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants to pull away one and another, and thus after a while, when they had turned divers downe staires, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor himselfe goes downe to y<sup>e</sup> door; but Alderman Hicks and y<sup>e</sup> sheriffs stay, and command more to be hauled out of y<sup>e</sup> Meeting. Then they alsoe goe down to y<sup>e</sup> door, and leave y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants to turne out y<sup>e</sup> rest, and bring them to y<sup>e</sup> street-door, where they take their names as they turned them out. And when y<sup>e</sup> Serjeant that held brother *Terrill* all y<sup>e</sup> while very fast, and would not lett him goe, as though he was a Felon, or would run away; but y<sup>e</sup> said brother seeing their height of spirit was silent, although that serjeant with others used many insulting words and threats, that now his Estate should not serve. Then they brought him downe (after Sheriff Fielding, who likewise used many words very Superbious,) to y<sup>e</sup> door before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Expecting y<sup>e</sup> Mayor according to his words would have sent him to Newgate; but y<sup>e</sup> Lord strangely altered y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's minde, that he did not send him to y<sup>e</sup> Prisson: saying, he would lett him goe at this time, but if Ever he did take him at a Meeting againe he would send him to Prisson. Although, above in y<sup>e</sup> Meeting y<sup>e</sup> Mayor said he did believe y<sup>e</sup> said Br. *Terrill* was y<sup>e</sup> Preacher, and would commit him to Newgate, yet through y<sup>e</sup> good hand of y<sup>e</sup> Lord none at that time from our Meeting was sent to prisson, But Mr. Jonathan Buttall that formerly walked with us, and was lately come againe from London to live here.

And when y<sup>e</sup> Mayor had done with our Meeting it was about 11 of y<sup>e</sup> clock, and then went to Mr. Gifford's Meeting, where were Hellier and Alderman Streamer come, after they had done

at Mr. Weekes' Meeting. But as y<sup>e</sup> Mayor went home by y<sup>e</sup> Prisson, he commands that Mr. Buttall should be brought out of Prisson before him at his house; who when he came before him was for y<sup>e</sup> present released, but oblidged by promise to appeare y<sup>e</sup> next morning before him att y<sup>e</sup> Tolzey.

Thus y<sup>e</sup> morning was passed over. Then wee mett againe in y<sup>e</sup> afternoone. Then Hellier and some Constables came into our meeting, and command us in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to departe; about halfe an hour after some Serjeants, and soe againe. And then they sate downe with us, after they had first commanded us in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to departe; but, all Singing when they came in, none departed untill our tyme was come. Then they kept fast our Doors, and for a tyme would not let us departe. Att last they with Hellier and his man tooke our names att y<sup>e</sup> Door; and Hellier running after some young man gave him a sore blow, and then commands y<sup>e</sup> Serjeant to carry him to Bridewell.

Y<sup>e</sup> 18th day of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Mo. In this afternoon meeting Mr. Robert Colston, Soap-boiler, came up, and (Some not suspecting him as a Spy, being noe knowne Informer,) stood as a hearer among y<sup>e</sup> people, and (when notice was given that y<sup>e</sup> knowne informers were coming, y<sup>e</sup> person which attended y<sup>e</sup> Curtaine drew it a little too soone, before he that was then speaking sate down), he saw Bro. Terrill speaking, and then he y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Colston went downe out of y<sup>e</sup> meeting. After which, when y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants came up, they said to Bro. Terrill, As for your parte there is information gone to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor that you preached. And y<sup>e</sup> next morning, y<sup>e</sup> said Robert Colston went to y<sup>e</sup> Tolzey before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Aldermen, and gave in his information upon Oath, that y<sup>e</sup> day before he heard Edward Terrill Preach, and when he had done he saw him step down and lay downe his Booke. This he declared as his information before y<sup>e</sup> Justices, and then signed it with his hand for his Deposition.

*Whereupon*, Bro. Terrill being upon y<sup>e</sup> Tolzey, (not knowing what was done in y<sup>e</sup> councell-house), y<sup>e</sup> Mayor sent serjeants for him. But Bro. Bodenham accidentally being in y<sup>e</sup> councell-house, and hearing y<sup>e</sup> order to send for Bro. Terrill, came forth before y<sup>e</sup> serjeants, and told Bro. Terrill that there were orders to Take him; who thereupon walked off y<sup>e</sup> Tolzey, and soe by y<sup>e</sup> good hand of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Preservation towards him he escaped them that tyme, that y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants could not find him. Wherefore y<sup>e</sup> Mayor grants out a warrant to take B. Terrill; which they could not doe that weeke, although y<sup>e</sup> Constables were straitly charged to bring him in to y<sup>e</sup> Quarter Sessions, which were that weeke; who returned, they could not meet with him. Then y<sup>e</sup> mayor in open court said, they would meet with him, meaning y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, at y<sup>e</sup> meeting; which when come, Hellyar, with y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's Serjeants and Constables, came to y<sup>e</sup> meeting in y<sup>e</sup> morning, being y<sup>e</sup> 25th July, 1675, y<sup>e</sup> faire day, and searched for Br. Terrill, to carry him

away; who though hee was att y<sup>e</sup> meeting, yett was soe concealed, and conveyed into another Roome under, that they found him not; which was not a little Trouble to them to be soe disappointed. And severall tymes y<sup>e</sup> next weeke he narrowly escaped them, through y<sup>e</sup> good hand of y<sup>e</sup> Lord that still hid him.

This 25th July, 1675, y<sup>e</sup> fayre day, being Lord's day, Hellyar lett us alone in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon; By reason when hee came in y<sup>e</sup> morning to our meeting, he saw there a stranger, a Gentleman and his wyfe from Coventry, that was a Clyent of his, and y<sup>e</sup> day before had invited him to Dinner that day. But y<sup>e</sup> Gentleman knew not that Hellyer was such a man, till that day found him to be about such worke. Yett notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> gentleman went to his house to dinner, and would have reasoned with him about his evill worke; but hee would not discourse of that.

But in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon Hellyer much troubled Mr. Weekes' meeting; and after it was over, he burned their chaires and stooles as fast as hee could, having kindled a fire in y<sup>e</sup> chimney in y<sup>e</sup> place, and made a great flame, untill y<sup>e</sup> Landlord of y<sup>e</sup> house heard of it, and came and caused y<sup>e</sup> fire to be Quenched lest y<sup>e</sup> house should be burnt.

*25th Lord's day—Being 1 August, 1675.* We were very quiet, Hellyer being out of Towne at Wells assizes, to prepare his councell and Judge North against his Tryall to be y<sup>e</sup> sixth day of this month here; (for some friends prosecuted him for his perjury, and some other Irregular things he had done); where accordingly he was tryed before y<sup>e</sup> Judges of this Circuit, and many Notorious Crimes laid against him. Yet such are y<sup>e</sup> Corruptions of y<sup>e</sup> tymes, and Judgment perverted, that y<sup>e</sup> Judge cleared him of all his wickedness, Barratry,<sup>51</sup> Forgery, and Perjury. Soe that wee saw, by experience, y<sup>e</sup> Judges as well as y<sup>e</sup> Justices were resolved to tread us downe, because we would not conforme to their worship; that as Christians wee should have noe peaceable enjoyment, and as men wee should have noe Justice. Soe that our persons and estates lay att their Wills and Pleasure; for if they acted anything towards us Contrary to Law, when wee sought to relieve ourselves thereby we should have noe benefitt thereof. For wee spent above 500*l.* to defend ourselves as Englishmen, but most in vaine. *Behold, O Lord; y<sup>e</sup> wicked Justified.*

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 2d of this said 6th mo., Mr. Hardcastle and Mr. Weekes, their time of 6 mos' imprisonment being expired, are att liberty. Mr. Hardcastle, y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, goes to his *Congregation* in their Publique place and preacheth. Hellyer comes up and sees him, then departs and fetcheth Constables and Serjeants; And after Mr. Hardcastle had reasoned with them, hee would not come downe untill hee had ended his sermon and concluded with prayer, although they charge him and threaten him very sore. Then they

<sup>51</sup> Barratry, "vexatious litigation, incitement to it; fraud or gross negligence of master or crew to the prejudice of ship's owners." (OED)

carry him away to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and convict him for preaching in y<sup>e</sup> corporation, upon y<sup>e</sup> 5 Mile Act; but let him depart for that tyme, because they could not imprison him for y<sup>e</sup> first offence untill one day after.

Y<sup>e</sup> 2d tyme Mr. Hardcastle Imprisoned.—Y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, being 15th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo., August, 1675, Mr. Hardcastle goes again to y<sup>e</sup> said Publique Meeting place, and preacheth againe. Hellyer comes betimes, and finds him preaching; departs, and brings Alderman Lawford with Serjeants and y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Secretary and others of his servants,—near 20 in all came;—makes great disturbance, and at last carryes Mr. Hardcastle away before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who sends him to Prison. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon wee were quiett, having just done before Hellyar came; and so had Mr. Weekes' and Mr. Gifford's people. Then Hellyar's crew, y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men and officers, (being in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon disappointed of these 3 meetings in *James' Parish* just ending together before hee came), they went in a rage to y<sup>e</sup> Meeting in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, (viz.) Mr. Thompson's, where they were singing, but could not find y<sup>e</sup> Person that Preached. But Mr. Jeremy Holwey, senior, Concluded in Prayer; therefore him they carryed away before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who oblidged him to appeare when sent for. And soe that dayes trouble ended.

Note. Mr. Weekes, y<sup>e</sup> Minister of our friends called *Presbyterians*, though lett out with Mr. Hardcastle, yet hee would not Preach these two dayes past; but went out of Towne y<sup>e</sup> first day that Mr. Hardcastle preached.

Bro. Terrill before mentioned, that supplied y<sup>e</sup> meeting in our pastour's first imprisonment, being impeached by a New Informer that espied him, about two dayes before Mr. Hardcastle was freed from his first imprisonment, there were Severall warrants granted out from y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Ralph Ollive, to take him; but y<sup>e</sup> Officers were willing to avoid him, and not execute y<sup>e</sup> warrant. But att y<sup>e</sup> General Sessions, y<sup>e</sup> Recorder being Judge in Towne for Gaole delivery, y<sup>e</sup> said Bro. Terrill was, with Mr. Holwey, Mr. Scroope, Mr. Christmas, Mr. Bugnall, Mr. Wall, &c., indited by Hellyer for not coming to their Parish Church; and having before been attached for y<sup>e</sup> same, Bond was given for his appearance with them to answer y<sup>e</sup> suite, upon y<sup>e</sup> indictment of y<sup>e</sup> 35th of *Q. Elizabeth*.<sup>52</sup>

Soe y<sup>e</sup> said Bro. Terrill, waiteing at Sister Saunders', near y<sup>e</sup> Hall, where his Bondsman Mr. Holwey should send for him when called, There waiting, y<sup>e</sup> Parson of Peter's, called Pledwell, and Heath of Austin's, and Robert Colston y<sup>e</sup> Informer, espie him; who after conferring with y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men, his Secretary comes with an officer of y<sup>e</sup> Mayor that had y<sup>e</sup> Warrant, and charges him to take y<sup>e</sup> said Bro. Terrill in Custody, and bring him before y<sup>e</sup>

<sup>52</sup> This Act "to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience" was passed in 1592. Those who refused to attend the parish church for a month or who attended Conventicles were liable to prison, since they thereby disputed the Sovereign's authority in ecclesiastical matters.

Mayor. But Bro. Terrill viewing that Warrant finds fault or defect in y<sup>e</sup> Warrant, for that was but y<sup>e</sup> 10th day of August, and y<sup>e</sup> warrant was dated y<sup>e</sup> 27th of y<sup>e</sup> said month, which was not yet come. Therefore he said to y<sup>e</sup> officer, by virtue of said warrant he had noe power to meddle of mee; but y<sup>e</sup> officer praying him to goe into Court, for he did not dare to doe otherwise, because y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Secretary had charged him with him, and because hee had before tyme been civill towards him y<sup>e</sup> said Bro. Terrill, he went into court with y<sup>e</sup> officer. And y<sup>e</sup> Warrant, instead of being delivered to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, was delivered to y<sup>e</sup> jayler, Hobson, who presently commanded his Under-keeper, Webb, to bring him home to Newgate.

*Whereupon*, Br. Terrill hearing that said to y<sup>e</sup> jayler he was mistaken, He was none of his Prisoner. *Who replied*, he was delivered to him by a Warrant. To which Br. Terrill answered, his warrant was defective, and not of forme, and bid y<sup>e</sup> Jayler read it. Who accordingly did, and seeing y<sup>e</sup> Error, for anger threw y<sup>e</sup> warrant under his feete, and went from him and sat down, and said he would have nothing to do with it. But y<sup>e</sup> Under-keeper stood by y<sup>e</sup> said brother, and by and by said unto one that stood by him, he must looke to his Prisoner. Whereupon Br. Terrill said to him, Doe you looke upon mee to be your prisoner? If you doe, I will looke upon you to be my Keeper; and doe you keepe mee, if you thinke good or durst without a warrant. Y<sup>e</sup> Under-keeper said, Why did y<sup>e</sup> Jayle-keeper deliver you to me? Y<sup>e</sup> Brother said, Doe you ask him. Who calling to him, y<sup>e</sup> Keeper came not.

Then some tyme after, y<sup>e</sup> Under-keeper goes to y<sup>e</sup> upper, and stayes there. And Bro. Terrill saw they were contriveing another Warrant to fasten him in Prison; and that y<sup>e</sup> Mayor calls out for y<sup>e</sup> Chief Constable of *James's Ward*, who had another Warrant for him. Whereupon Bro. Terrill saw that God by his Providence had Baffled them, and that if hee staid there, they would fasten him by some other way. He was Casting about how to gett out before they did it, and in this Nick of tyme another Providence of y<sup>e</sup> Lord presented, that y<sup>e</sup> Serjeant that kept y<sup>e</sup> doore went from it to y<sup>e</sup> Keeper, and whispered. In y<sup>e</sup> mean season, Br. Terrill spake to y<sup>e</sup> Constables that kept y<sup>e</sup> doore to lett him come forth; but there being such a throng they could not open it, but helped Br. Terrill over y<sup>e</sup> hatch, and soe hee gott downe into y<sup>e</sup> throng, and passed through y<sup>e</sup> midst of them. And soe y<sup>e</sup> Lord att that tyme delivered him out of their hands, when they had taken him, by a strange Providence that their Warrant should not be good, through a Mistake therein.

*First Lord's day* after our pastor Mr. Hardcastle's second Imprisonment for six Mo., being y<sup>e</sup> 22nd of y<sup>e</sup> 6 Mo, August, 1675. Y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Ralph Ollive with his Serjeants and some Constables, and y<sup>e</sup> Bishop with divers of his crew and men, came to our Meeting doore. Then y<sup>e</sup> Mayor sends up two of his Serjeants to

Command us to departe, and one of them makes proclamation by O yes! 3 tymes; then Commands us in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> King and y<sup>e</sup> Mayor his deputy-lieutenant to departe. But when wee understood they were coming y<sup>e</sup> Brother which preached ceased, and all y<sup>e</sup> people began to sing a Psalme; soe that when y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants came up they were singing, and took little notice of what they said, and did not departe. Then y<sup>e</sup> Mayor himself with his Attendance came up into y<sup>e</sup> meeting, and commanded y<sup>e</sup> People to departe; but they all kept singing (noebody read y<sup>e</sup> Psalme to them,) but knowing y<sup>e</sup> Psalme to be sung, (which we still named in y<sup>e</sup> beginning of y<sup>e</sup> meeting, to prepare and turne to if we had trouble), Every one looked in his owne booke and soe sung, and kept stopps one with another, and lift up their voice together; which y<sup>e</sup> Mayor perceiving knew not what to doe more. Hee went downe againe. Y<sup>e</sup> Bishop staid below att y<sup>e</sup> doore; (hee was coming up, but finding y<sup>e</sup> first paire of staires somewhat darke he drew back). Soe, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and y<sup>e</sup> Bishop departed to Br. Gifford's meeting, who came forth of Prison a few dayes before; and finding him in Exercise y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Bishop commanded him to be pulled downe, and carryed away to Prison. Thus that morning's trouble passed over. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon we were quiett.

Y<sup>e</sup> next day it was said by one of y<sup>e</sup> tymes, or (*True Hearts*), soe called, that y<sup>e</sup> Bishop and Witnesses with him, were rode away to y<sup>e</sup> Lord *Herbert's*, (who was y<sup>e</sup> Lord Lieutenant of this County), to gett a Troupe of Horse to suppress y<sup>e</sup> Meetings; who coming home, and his expectation as some thinke not answered, hee went away again y<sup>e</sup> same weeke privately for London to y<sup>e</sup> King's Court, for to Endeavour to gett some Aid or authority to suppress us.

Y<sup>e</sup> 2d Lord's day After our pastor's imprisonment y<sup>e</sup> 2d tyme, being y<sup>e</sup> 29th of y<sup>e</sup> 6 Mo., 1675. Wee had peace, y<sup>e</sup> Bishop being forth of town. And it was very strange that Hellyer was soe quiett; But y<sup>e</sup> weeke following, Hee said hee was troubled in his Conscience for being then quiett.

Y<sup>e</sup> 5th day of y<sup>e</sup> said Weeke, being y<sup>e</sup> 2nd of September, 1675, on our Week-day meeting, Helliard brings Constables to y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, above two Houres before y<sup>e</sup> tyme, and soe he was befooled; for there was none there but an old woman cleaning y<sup>e</sup> Roome.

But afterwards, when y<sup>e</sup> Meeting was Just going to beginne, Helliard and his man came; and it was Judged that he was halfe-drunk. And there he sits downe, and then begins to propose Ensnaring questions to one and another; and Jeered some, and abused others. Especially, he abused Old Mr. Holway, called him a Decimator and a Sequestrator<sup>53</sup> and many other opprobrious Expressions, and sent his man for a Constable. And there hee staid all y<sup>e</sup> tyme, that wee could have noe Exercise att all.

<sup>53</sup> Decimator, i.e., "an exactor or receiver of tithes or taxes to the amount of one tenth" (OED). Sequestrator, i.e., "a trustee or bailiff of property upon which there are claims by creditors". (OED)

*Y<sup>e</sup> 3d Lord's day* of our Pastor's Second imprisonment, being fifth of 7 Mo., 1675. Helliari came up into our meeting, with his man and Mayor's Sergeants, in y<sup>e</sup> morning; and disturbed us about 6 times this day, morning and afternoone. And at Mr. Weekes' meeting, very troublesome, they sent some to Prison when y<sup>e</sup> mayor came. But before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor came to our meeting our tyme was over, and wee had done, and were Just gone.

*Y<sup>e</sup> 4th Lord's day* of our pastor's 2d imprisonment, being 12th 7th Mo. 1675. In y<sup>e</sup> morning, y<sup>e</sup> Chiefe Constable of James' Ward, being commanded, came up into our meeting in y<sup>e</sup> morning, with some other of y<sup>e</sup> Constables, with a Warrant in his hand, and commanded us in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to depart; but y<sup>e</sup> People kept singing, and regarded not what they said. Whereupon y<sup>e</sup> said Constables went away, and, meeting with Helliari at y<sup>e</sup> doore, hee would have had them goe up againe into our meeting; but they would not. And soe Helliari came not up, but went to Mr. Weekes' Meeting, and they had little rest all that morning. But in y<sup>e</sup> afternoone *All* our meetings were quiett. *Praise bee to y<sup>e</sup> Lord!*

*Y<sup>e</sup> 5 Lord's day*, being 19th, 7 Mo, 1675. Elected Moderate men for Mayor and Sheriffes y<sup>e</sup> next yeare. This Lord's day wee were att peace.

*Y<sup>e</sup> 6th Lord's day*, being 26th of 7th Mo 1675. Wee were greatly disturbed. First, Hellyar with 6 or 7 of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men came up in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and wee were singing. They sate downe some tyme, and then departed unto another meeting, and sends for y<sup>e</sup> Mayor. Then y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants came upon us; and after that, Sr John Knight, Sr Robert Yeamans, and Alderman Streamer came up, near 11 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, and commanded us away; but could not find y<sup>e</sup> Bro. that spake, for wee had conveyed him downe into a roome under, through a Trap made like a Biffet-Bench<sup>54</sup> against y<sup>e</sup> Wall in a seate or pue enclosed. Soe att y<sup>e</sup> doore they tooke our names as wee came downe, and when they had ended with us, y<sup>e</sup> other meetings were done in y<sup>e</sup> Afternoone.

*Y<sup>e</sup> 7th Lord's day*, being y<sup>e</sup> 3d of 8 Mo., 1675, y<sup>e</sup> first Lord's day of y<sup>e</sup> new Mayor, Sr Robert Cann, and Mr. Charles William, and Mr. George Lane, Sheriffes, being in office, whom, we trust, y<sup>e</sup> Lord, in Mercy to his poor people, did strangely order to be Elected, and settled in y<sup>e</sup> seate of government, in answer to his people's prayers for Moderate men; which, when chosen, was not a little trouble to y<sup>e</sup> persecutors. Yett, they would give us trouble. Y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Secretary goes to y<sup>e</sup> New Mayor, and complaynes of our meeting, and prevayles with him to send some of his Serjeants, who, with severall of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men, and some new informers as y<sup>e</sup> sonn of y<sup>e</sup> Steward Robinson, a vile, uncleane man, and one George Hellyar, (brother-in-law to Hellyar,—but hee himselfe, it was said, was gone forth of Towne, with one Quarles, a wicked

<sup>54</sup> Biffet bench: "A bench divided into two parts by a cleft or notch". (OED)



country informer; it was doubted, to trouble friends out of Towne). These, with others, about 7 or 8, came, after some of them had before been, and saw wee were assembled. They all came up, between 10 and 11 in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and command us, by order from y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, to departe; but seeing that we did not, one of y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants makes Proclamation by O yes! three times, and then in y<sup>e</sup> King's name we are commanded to departe. But not yett moving, then y<sup>e</sup> Steward's sonn and Hellyar's Brother-in-law take y<sup>e</sup> names of such as they and y<sup>e</sup> officers knew, and then departed; after which we leave off singing, and conclude with prayer, our tyme being expired.

*In y<sup>e</sup> afternoone* wee were quiett, And our Pastour now having favour from y<sup>e</sup> sheriffes to be a Prisoner att his owne house, though hee dared not to gett to y<sup>e</sup> Publique Meeting-house, yett,—wee having been now about 8 Mo deprived of y<sup>e</sup> Celebration of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper, by reason our pastour was kept in Prison,—this Evening, after y<sup>e</sup> Publique meeting was ended, wee dispersed, and came to Br. Ellis's house, whereto our Pastour had before conveyed himselfe. And there, then, wee had y<sup>e</sup> opportunity for y<sup>e</sup> members of y<sup>e</sup> Church to hear him Preach about an houre, and after that Breake bread very comfortably. Praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord for his good Ordinance and opportunity.

*Anno 1675.* Y<sup>e</sup> 8 Lord's day after our pastor's second imprisonment, being y<sup>e</sup> 10th of 8 Mo., 1675. Wee were troubled in y<sup>e</sup> morning with y<sup>e</sup> constables only. They came up and commanded us to depart, and soe left us. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoone were quiett.

Y<sup>e</sup> 9th Lord's day, being 17th day 8 Mo, 1675. In y<sup>e</sup> morning wee had but little disturbance; Hellyar only came up and went downe againe. But in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon wee had much trouble. Hellyar and severall Constables came up, and because y<sup>e</sup> staires were somewhat filled, that hee could not gett up, he did very much haule Br. James Bland, who stood in y<sup>e</sup> staires, and ript his cloake, but, hee holding by y<sup>e</sup> rope of y<sup>e</sup> staires, could not gett him away from y<sup>e</sup> place. Then Hellyar pluckt Bro. Bland's hatt off his head, and gave it to his man, who carried it home to Hellyar's house and there kept y<sup>e</sup> Castor,<sup>55</sup> and would not let him have it againe, though demanded and sent for. And when they with Hellyar gott up in y<sup>e</sup> morning, with two Serjeants, Robert Edwards and Thomas Chatten, they goe up and downe y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, (while y<sup>e</sup> people kept singing,) and take Names.

*Upon 20th Oct. 1675,* Mr. Thompson's Congregation put off theire Lecture to that day fortnight, and soe to be but once every other weeke.

*Upon 22nd day 8 Mo,* y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Sr Robert Cann, made a feast, and invited most of y<sup>e</sup> Chief of y<sup>e</sup> Separates in y<sup>e</sup> Citty. Which troubled Hellyar.

Y<sup>e</sup> 10th Lord's day, being 24th day of 8 Mo. 1675. We had great trouble all day. In y<sup>e</sup> morning Hellyar writes a letter to y<sup>e</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Castor, i.e., a hat.

Mayor, and requires his help. Soe, Hellyar, knowing y<sup>e</sup> Mayor would come, he first comes with severall Constables, and pulls and haules severall of y<sup>e</sup> younger sort, and turnes them downe staires. Hee very much abused Mr. Tipton's servant, pluckt him by y<sup>e</sup> haire and Ears, and dragged him along y<sup>e</sup> Meeting. Y<sup>e</sup> Constables made as if they did not see it. Then he called y<sup>e</sup> Constables to help him pull and turne downe severall. Then Sr Wm. Cann y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's sonne came from his father first, and tould us his father was forced to come, and therefore desired us to depart. Then y<sup>e</sup> Mayor himselfe, Sr Robert Cann, came (with Sheriffe Williams and Alderman Hicks, and Serjeants), and declared how hee was unwilling to give us this trouble, but was forced to it by this fellow Hellyar y<sup>e</sup> informer, and therefore desired us to depart; and, it being now near y<sup>e</sup> tyme of our ending, we departed.

*Then*, in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, Hellyar came againe, and found us assembled againe; then sends his man to Wasbrow's church, and fetcht out Alderman Hicks and Alderman Streamer, who came with severall Serjeants, first to Mr. Weekes', and then to us. When that our sermon was ended, and a letter from our Pastor<sup>56</sup> was reading to y<sup>e</sup> people, y<sup>e</sup> Constables, with Hellyar, command us to depart. Br. Ellis, who was reading y<sup>e</sup> letter, tould them we should depart presently, therefore prayed them to sitt downe, for wee were not now about any matter of worship, but only reading a letter. Then, by and by, Br. Ellis was interrupted againe as he was reading. He told them hee knew no act of *Parliament* against reading a letter. When that Br. Ellis had done reading y<sup>e</sup> letter, y<sup>e</sup> people went to depart. But they kept y<sup>e</sup> doores, and Hellyar and his man tooke their names, Alderman Hicks and Alderman Streamer standing by. And they brought Bro. Ellis before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor for reading y<sup>e</sup> letter, who appointed him to come to y<sup>e</sup> Towlzey y<sup>e</sup> next morning to answer. Soe hee did, but y<sup>e</sup> Mayor came not. Then Hellyar and his man gave in an information against Mr. Ellis, upon their Oathes, that Br. Ellis did Preach or Teach, and caused it to be filed, in order to his Conviction before Alderman Hicks and Alderman Streamer, y<sup>e</sup> 25th 8 Mo., 1675. Herein may be observed y<sup>e</sup> wickedness of Hellyar, that so knowingly and wilfully would swear false, when hee knew it was but a letter that Bro. Ellis read; yet hee and his man sware Br. Ellis did teach or preach. This is presumptuous perjury.

Sr Robert Cann, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, being sorely troubled hee should be as it were att y<sup>e</sup> command of Hellyar, went away to London, on y<sup>e</sup> 27th instant.

*Y<sup>e</sup> 11th Lord's day*, being 31 October, 1675. We were in peace, and had noe disturbance; nor any of y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Meetings. Praise

<sup>56</sup> It was at the afternoon meetings that Hardcastle's letters were read. They are given in full in *Underhill*, pp. 257-354. For other references to the letters, see further p. 136. Fownes also wrote regular letters from prison, but none of these have survived.

be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord! Y<sup>e</sup> reason was, Hellyar was gone to his Father, who lived about 3 miles from y<sup>e</sup> Citty, to begin his CURST-MAS.<sup>57</sup>

*This* afternoon of 31st 8 Mo, y<sup>e</sup> Church agreed to y<sup>e</sup> motion of y<sup>e</sup> other Congregations, to seeke for and buy a burying-place, for all y<sup>e</sup> Separates to bury their dead. B. Ford, deacon, B. King, and B. Snead, were desired to take y<sup>e</sup> care of it, joyntly with those brethren of y<sup>e</sup> other Congregations.

*Att ditto* tyme, B. Bodenham and B. Davis, were desired, upon every second day in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, to gather together and record what affronts and abuses, to whom and by whom they were done, every weeke, at our meeting, by y<sup>e</sup> Informers and them that came with them.

*At ditto* tyme, for more regular keeping of y<sup>e</sup> doore every Meeting, that some brethren might not be burthened by alwayes doeing it, we settled 3 for every Lord's day, some within and some without, and soe take turnes about, in all:—

1. Bro. Bodenham, B. Town, B. Hall.
2. B. Rivers, B. Josh Bryan, B. Jacob.
3. Bro. Snead, B. Willis, B. Hen. Ford.
4. B. Fry, B. Bland, B. Lewis.
5. B. Courtney, B. Child, B. Gregory.
6. B. Whitehead, B. Purnell, B. Dennis.

*Y<sup>e</sup> 12th Lord's day*, being 7th, 9th Mo., 1675. Wee had again great disturbance in that meeting. When B. Jenings had ended his first prayer, and began his Sermon, Hellyar with his man comes in, walks about, then departed. Having sent for some Justices of y<sup>e</sup> Peace, wee had, presently after, another interruption, at their coming nigh our meeting; but they turned aside, and went to *Mr. Weekes'*. And then, about half an hour past 10, Hellyar, with Alderman Lawford, then deputy Mayor in y<sup>e</sup> absence of Sr Robert Cann, with Alderman Stevens and two Serjeants, with Hellyar's Brother-in-law and man, came up into our meeting, and commanded us to departe. Yea, Alderman Lawford commanded us in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to departe, about 40 tymes; but ye people kept singing, and did not departe. Then they go round about, searching and takeing of names, men women and maids, that they kept us near 12 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock; and then y<sup>e</sup> people arose and departed.

*In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon* we were much worse troubled. First, Hellyar comes again, very quick, before we had begun, and walkes about, searching. Then we began a psalme. After that hee goes downe, and sends away for Alderman Ollive; and hee walkes in y<sup>e</sup> roome below, where y<sup>e</sup> younger brethren used to exercise every second day in y<sup>e</sup> Evening. Then Hellyar would faine have gone up, but some filled y<sup>e</sup> staires. Whereupon he pulled and hauled B. Dickason by y<sup>e</sup> cloake till it cracked, and plucked one woman that she cryed out, "Will you murder me?" Hee was violent, and stroke Martha

<sup>57</sup> Curst-mass, i.e., a dialect form of "Christmas".

Hawkins with a great staffe that hee had in his hand, that had she not bent away her head when y<sup>e</sup> stroke was coming, he had knocked her downe; but thereby y<sup>e</sup> blow came upon her arme. And hee brake a youth's head, and soe gott up. When that Alderman Ollive came, then Hellyar and Alderman Ollive, with Chappell, and Benj. Buck, officers Price and Wilkins, rush up to y<sup>e</sup> table, and commanded y<sup>e</sup> people to depart, and forbear singing; but they did not. Then come to B. Ellis' seate, and kept great contending with him and others thereabouts, and sent away S. Fry's brother (a stranger that came to Citty for cure) to Bridewell, because when hee told his name, they would not believe him that hee lived soe farr as y<sup>e</sup> West Country; and likewise sent away B. Thomas Jacob, that kept a Bakehouse at his house but a little without Lawford's Gate; because hee said that hee lived there they would not believe him, but sent him away to Bridewell. And they come to B. Dickason, in B. Ellis' seate. Y<sup>e</sup> Alderman takes his *Bible* out of his hand, and throws it behind him, as hee was singing, and y<sup>e</sup> Alderman Ollive spake revilingly of him, saying, he was a *Heel-maker*, and *sold Tobacco*, and went up and downe in Wales *preaching*. Hee said hee lived by his calling, as hee did by drawing Wyne. Whereupon Alderman Ollive commands y<sup>e</sup> officer to take Br. Dickason away to Newgate. And, after, they went about y<sup>e</sup> roome, and gott in among y<sup>e</sup> women uncivilly from one to another, takeing their names. Thus till near 3 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock they kept troubling of us; then they departed to Mr. Weekes', and made them disperse, and were coming to us againe. Soe that in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon y<sup>e</sup> Minister could not Preach, their second coming being in his first Prayer; and they stayed so long, hauleing and pulling divers, and sending some to Prison, that when they departed y<sup>e</sup> tyme was near spent; wherefore hee concludes with short Prayer again. And Bro. Ellis began and read some part of a letter from our Pastour to y<sup>e</sup> People, showing y<sup>e</sup> nature of true faith, and why faith must Purify y<sup>e</sup> Heart; but they coming againe, and y<sup>e</sup> tyme being over, wee departed. And in y<sup>e</sup> evening, B. Dickason was brought before Alderman Ollive. Hellyar sware divers things against him, but untrue; yet hee was sent to Newgate againe, to continue there till next Sessions, which would be about 9 weekes after. When B. Dickason was brought before them to y<sup>e</sup> said house, being a Taverne, there was y<sup>e</sup> Master of y<sup>e</sup> House Alderman Ollive, Hellyar, and Alderman Lawford, drinking and consulting about y<sup>e</sup> imprisoning him. A greate while made him stay without, in y<sup>e</sup> Pavement; then hee was brought in before them.

Y<sup>e</sup> 13 *Lord's day*, being y<sup>e</sup> 14th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9 mo. 1675. Wee had againe great trouble in y<sup>e</sup> morning. For Hellyar, y<sup>e</sup> day before, had gott one of y<sup>e</sup> Aldermen, Sr Robert Yeamans a great Wine-drinker, to y<sup>e</sup> 3 Tonns Taverne in Corn street, where Alderman Ollive dwelt. There they were most parte of y<sup>e</sup> afternoone filling themselves, and preparing who should give us disturbance y<sup>e</sup> next day.

Sr Robert Yeamans is engaged. Hellyar, as his Manner was, writes a Warrant, and getts said Sr Robert to signe it, and sends it to y<sup>e</sup> Chiefe Constable of James' Ward, commanding him, and all y<sup>e</sup> Constables, with y<sup>e</sup> Overseers of y<sup>e</sup> Poore, to bee ready to attend him on y<sup>e</sup> Morrow Morning at Hellyar's house, by Eight of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, to suppress y<sup>e</sup> Meetings in y<sup>e</sup> said Ward, of which hee is certified there will bee severall by y<sup>e</sup> Churchwardens of James' (that is Hellyar), as they shall answer it at their Perill. Thus having issued out their summons they continue drinking, till Hellyar was by two persons led home drunke that evening, being y<sup>e</sup> 13th day of 9 Mo.

Y<sup>e</sup> next morning, being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, accordingly, somewhat after Eight of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, Sr Robert Yeamans, with Hellyar and y<sup>e</sup> Constables, with two Serjeants, George Wilkins and ———, came to y<sup>e</sup> meeting, and not about halfe y<sup>e</sup> people come. They keepe y<sup>e</sup> doors, and will lett noe more goe in, and coming up command us to departe. But B. Jenings who was to speake, haveing not begun, withdrew into another part of y<sup>e</sup> house; because y<sup>e</sup> last day they haveing taken his name, they came after to learne that he did use to preach. Whereupon, wee understood, Hellyar had gott a Warrant for him, as hee had for Br. Terrill another New Warrant, (as soon as Sr Robert Cann, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, was gone out of Towne), signed by old Lawford, deputy-Mayor; signed y<sup>e</sup> 29th October last.

Soe, care being taken that Br. Jennings, (for whom they had a warrant), might not be taken, y<sup>e</sup> people as usually fall a singing. Hellyar looks very wistly in y<sup>e</sup> place where Br. Jenings last day sate, but not finding him commands y<sup>e</sup> people to depart; and alsoe Sr Robert. But y<sup>e</sup> people not obeying, Sr Robert commands one of y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants, Wilkins, to make proclamation. Who did accordingly, after he had cryed *O! yes!* three tymes; And yet y<sup>e</sup> people not depart. Then Sr Robert Yeamans Commands Brother Ellis in particular to bee gone, and because not soe speedily, Commands y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants to pull him out. Then hee came. Sr Robert said hee would send B. Ellis to Newgate: who told him hee might use his *Pleasure*. But att that tyme he did not, after he had . . . to Hellyar, but said, Br. Ellis and Mr. Sam. Clarke must find sureties to appeare to-morrow Morning at y<sup>e</sup> Towlzey. Br. Ellis said hee would bee surety for Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Clarke should bee surety for him. And y<sup>e</sup> Alderman, turning towards Hellyar, hee said that should serve, and soe they were lett goe. And Soe Br. Forde, Br. Snead, and Mr. Hill were oblidged to answer y<sup>e</sup> morrow. But Hellyar espying a Countryman that was a stranger at y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, told Sr Robert; and him they sent away to *Bridewell*, and kept him there till next morning. Y<sup>e</sup> man lived near Gloucester, kin to B. Bodenham, that came to town about some businesse he had here. Thus they used Strangers and us. And then they forced y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> People away, with many threats from Sr Robert, that if hee

caught any of them there in y<sup>e</sup> afternoone, what he would doe to them, and charged y<sup>e</sup> Constables to stay att y<sup>e</sup> doors, and keep us out in y<sup>e</sup> afternoone. But after Hellyar and Sr Robert were gone y<sup>e</sup> Constable went away to Dinner alsoe, and thereby we gott into y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, about 12 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, and were quiett all y<sup>e</sup> afternoon; praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

*But y<sup>e</sup> next morning*, being 15th day 9 Mo. 1675, Br. Ellis, Br. Forde, Br. Snead, Mr. Clark, Mr. Hill appeared according to their promise before Mr. Lawford deputy-Mayor, Sr Robert Yeamans, Alderman Hicks, Alderman Ollive, at y<sup>e</sup> Towlzey; where Hellier also came, and gave an information against them, sworne to by him, his brother George Hellyar, and his man *Thomas Eyre*,—That these 5 persons with many more, hee named 30, subjects of his Majesty's realme, were att such a place att a Conventicle, or unlawful meeting; and being commanded by y<sup>e</sup> officers, and one of them his Majesty's Justice of y<sup>e</sup> Peace, to depart in his Majesty's name, yet would not; Nay, though Proclamation was made in y<sup>e</sup> meeting by O! yes! they stayed, and did not departe for above a quarter of an houre after. Thus they being accused, y<sup>e</sup> Alderman would have them find Sureties to appeare and to answer it at next quarter Sessions, (which would bee about 2 months thence). These Brethren were ready Soe to doe. *But Hellier* then Motions to y<sup>e</sup> said Alderman Lawford, and they must give Sureties for y<sup>e</sup> Good Behaviour in y<sup>e</sup> meane tyme, till y<sup>e</sup> Sessions; (whereby he meant, they must not goe to meeting in y<sup>e</sup> meane space). But to that they would not give baile nor Sureties. Then they, y<sup>e</sup> Alderman said, must goe to Prison. Soe, after long debate of y<sup>e</sup> matter of Fact, and unreasonableness of their acting, and their unneighbourly dealing to goe to imprison their Neighbours for only waiteing upon God, And that they had nothing to charge them with but in y<sup>e</sup> matters of their God, &c.; And that they went to y<sup>e</sup> extremity of y<sup>e</sup> Law, and did follow y<sup>e</sup> dictates of this debauched fellow Hellyar, not allowing them y<sup>e</sup> favour y<sup>e</sup> Justices would allow to Felons; Yet nothing would prevaile, but to Prison they must all goe, unless they would give bond to y<sup>e</sup> Good Behaviour. Which they still refusing, their Mittimus is made to send them to Prison. But some Friend standing by wished y<sup>e</sup> Alderman not to be soe rash, but to forbear and consider of it, till 4th day, Wednesday next. Thereupon they commanded them to appeare then againe.

And soe upon y<sup>e</sup> 17th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Mo. 1675, they againe appeared; and finding our brethren in y<sup>e</sup> same mind, not to give Sureties, nor soe much as promise not to goe to Meeting, (which they would accept of), till Sessions; they were then all 5, Br. Capt. Ellis, Mr. Clarke, Br. Ford, Mr. Hill, Br. Snead, by y<sup>e</sup> same Mittimus, sent Prisoners to Newgate. Thus these poore Aldermen fulfill Hellyar's desire: for Hellyar had invited them, viz., Aldermen Lawford, Ollive, Hicks, &c., to dine with him, att Hellyar's house, that day. And soe, after they had imprisoned these brethren,

they goe to his feast.

Y<sup>e</sup> 14 Lord's day, being 21st 9 Mo., 1675. Wee had rest and peace all this day. Some thinke y<sup>e</sup> Lord brought thus about. When our brethren aforesaid, y<sup>e</sup> last second day, Monday, were brought before y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates, Hellyar, and one Mr. Robins, (Steward of y<sup>e</sup> Citty, a very debauched man also), and an enemy to us, Hellyar had said in open Court, before y<sup>e</sup> Aldermen, That y<sup>e</sup> Parliament were going to make an Act to take away Charters from those Citytes and Corporations that did suffer such *Conventicles*; and Robins Seconded it, and said it was true, for hee heard his Lordship (meaning y<sup>e</sup> Bishop) had writt downe soe. Which words one of our Brethren certified up to London, to Mr. Jekell; who, enquireing whether it were so of some of y<sup>e</sup> Parliament house of Commons, and of some of y<sup>e</sup> House of Lords, was assured it was an utter Untruth, and was Commanded by some Lords to write a letter to Robins, to know whether it was true that his Lordship y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Bristol had writt downe soe, If he would prove it; If not, Robins and Hellyar should be sent for up, and called to an accompt for spreading false News, and belying y<sup>e</sup> Parliament. Which letter being sent enclosed to Bro. Ellis in prison, y<sup>e</sup> day before y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day,—hee sent his man with it to Mr. Robins, and required his answer that post,—putt them in some fear; that it was observed that Hellyar and Robins and some others went to y<sup>e</sup> Tonnes Tavern, to their Instrument Alderman Ollive, and plodded what to doe, drinking themselves drunk. Soe through this feare some Judged wee were lett alone this day. But y<sup>e</sup> next weeke y<sup>e</sup> Parliament was Prorogued, for 15 Mo., until 15th February, 1676. Soe they were not called to accompt, but freed; and wee againe troubled y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day following.

Y<sup>e</sup> fifteenth Lord's day, being 28th Nov. 1675. In y<sup>e</sup> morning Hellyar with another man, one Gill, came Four tymes to our Meeting, and soe interrupted us; for hee walked from Mr. Weekes' to ours, and from our Meeting to Br. Gifford's, and soe from one to another, all that morning. And in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon hee came twice, before two of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, and then had gott Alderman Hicks to come to him, and soe they went to disturbe Mr. Weekes' meeting, and tarried there a long tyme, till halfe an houre past three; By which meanes wee had a fine breathing, and a Comfortable opportunity, and ended all in peace. But as y<sup>e</sup> people were going forth, a great part haveing already passed out, Hellyar with y<sup>e</sup> Constables came, and stopt y<sup>e</sup> rest, and would not lett them come forth. And than y<sup>e</sup> Alderman Hicks coming, seeing y<sup>e</sup> people were part gone, and y<sup>e</sup> rest goeing out, he turned away homewards. Yet Hellyar made y<sup>e</sup> Constable keepe y<sup>e</sup> doores to take their names, and Hellier pulled and hauled y<sup>e</sup> people, Br. Rieves, and alsoe Mr. John Cornish, and was going to strike him on y<sup>e</sup> Head with his staffe; but his Brother-in-law, George Hellyar, prevented him. And hee struck one boy a sore blow. And as y<sup>e</sup> Constable there kept one of y<sup>e</sup>

doores, putting in his Constable's staffe athwart y<sup>e</sup> doore, y<sup>e</sup> Entry being thronged with those people that came downe out of y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, a little Child being next y<sup>e</sup> doore, y<sup>e</sup> Constable plucked away his staffe to lett out y<sup>e</sup> Child, and then divers People rusht out, and with it. Here y<sup>e</sup> Constable was thrust downe in y<sup>e</sup> Street; at which there was a great Thay made by y<sup>e</sup> Boyes in y<sup>e</sup> street that followed Hellyar. And thereupon Hellyar, y<sup>e</sup> next day, before y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates, endeavoured to make this Meeting a Riott: Whereas we were peaceably mett, and Peaceably parting, but he hindered us, endeavouring to find y<sup>e</sup> Bro. that spake; but y<sup>e</sup> Lord had hid him.

Y<sup>e</sup> sixteenth Lord's day, being y<sup>e</sup> 5th of y<sup>e</sup> 10th month, 1675. Wee were in y<sup>e</sup> morning three times disturbed by Hellyar, and Constables he brought. Y<sup>e</sup> last tyme he brought Alderman Crump with him. Y<sup>e</sup> Alderman was very Civill. It being near 11 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, after they staid some tyme, y<sup>e</sup> People a singing, all departed att y<sup>e</sup> houre. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon Hellyar disturbed us twice.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 7th day of y<sup>e</sup> 10th Month, being our Monthly day for Prayer, wee were Mett att Br. Terrill's. Hellyar walkes about there in y<sup>e</sup> morning; in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, brought up *Hore* y<sup>e</sup> Constable with him, but could not gett an opportunity to gett in. Soe wee were quiett, Praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, though y<sup>e</sup> Enemy watched. And at y<sup>e</sup> Evening of y<sup>e</sup> same day, sister Robinson y<sup>e</sup> elder, who departed y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day before, was then interred. There were two Serjeants Watching at y<sup>e</sup> Funerall, it was said, to take up Br. Terrill; But hee having notice of their being there, they were prevented.

S. Robinson dyed 5th of 10 Mo, 1675.

S. Vanatturme dyed y<sup>e</sup> 10th day of 10th Mo. 1675.

Br. Bodenham's wyfe dyed y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of 10th Mo., 1675.

17th Lord's day, being 12th of 10th Mo, 1675. Hellyer y<sup>e</sup> day before had, (as his Usuall Manner was), prepared his information, and sent it in to Alderman Crump, that there would bee two Meetings;—one at James' Back, which was Mr. Weekes', y<sup>e</sup> other in Broadmead, in y<sup>e</sup> Morning from 9 to 11, y<sup>e</sup> afternoon from one to three. *Whereupon* y<sup>e</sup> New Alderman, Crump, signes four Warrants, two for our Meeting for Morning and for Afternoon, and two for Mr. Weekes', and sends them to y<sup>e</sup> Chiefe Constable of *James' Ward*, one *Tristram Gill*, who was newly sworne with other new Petty Constables; and they seemed very sober, loath to Molest us. *Praise* bee to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, for Ordering such in office, and Moderating their Hearts.

*In* y<sup>e</sup> Morning, y<sup>e</sup> Warrants being given to come att 9 and one, Mr. Weekes' people putt off their Meeting until 10 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock. Wee did not Judge it meet soe to doe, (though it was threatened that Sr Robert Yeamans would come), but to gett in and keep our Place, and lett them come. Hellier goes to Mr. Weekes'; not finding them, their doore fast, comes to us, with his Man, up into our Meeting, near 9 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock; and finding some already come,



goes away, and by and by comes with y<sup>e</sup> New Constables. Who would not obey Hellyar; but only came and declared they had a Warrant from Alderman Crump to command us in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to depart, and then away they went to their homes, and left Hellyar. Soe wee had peace. But Hellyar goes to Mr. Weekes' doore, and keepes them out; but, some other way they getting in, Hellyar went in alsoe, and staid all y<sup>e</sup> Morning with them, that they were hindered from Preaching. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon y<sup>e</sup> Constables come againe to us, and declare their Order that we must departe. Then they went away. Soe wee had peace againe. *Praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord.*

*This 12th day of 10th Mo., 1675, Mary Phillips and Mary Mallard, at Breaking bread, at Br. Ellis his house, were Propounded to joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Church.*

*Hellyar* this day as aforesaid Staying all y<sup>e</sup> morning at Mr. Weekes', till almost all y<sup>e</sup> People were gone home, hee gott John Tucker, one of Mr. Weekes' Congregation, to goe home with him to Dinner; att which tyme some discourse passed between Hellyar and John Tucker, at Hellyar's house, whereby Hellyar intimated, that if they would not meet att tyme of Divine Service, as he called it, hee would not trouble them.

*Whereupon* Mr. Weekes, and divers of his Members, Concluded, upon this Motion of Hellyar's, to alter their houres; (viz.) to meet from 11 to one, and to come again after 3, and meet till five.

Which intention of alteration of theirs was a trouble to y<sup>e</sup> other three Congregations. Whereupon it was desired that some brethren of each of y<sup>e</sup> four Congregations would meet to Consider y<sup>e</sup> Proposition. And accordingly upon y<sup>e</sup> 17th day instant, at Bro. Ellis's, some did meet. And it was generally disliked and spoken against by y<sup>e</sup> friends of Mr. Hardcastle's, Mr. Thompson's, and Br. Gifford's people, those 3 Congregations, as not to be consented to, nor taken notice of; by reason it was Hellyar's Motion, that vile persecutor, that seemed now almost tired; haveing followed us these 15 Mo. past by interrupting, abuseing, fineing, and takeing away our goods, and imprisoning; and att this tyme seven of our Congregation and hearers were Prisoners, and yet could not restraine us. And that now we should comply to his proposalls or termes, to give him ground to glory hee had overcome us, was by most adjudged altogether inexpedient, and not att all our interest, nor y<sup>e</sup> way to obtaine peace to keep our ground, nor to have future liberty soe to doe.

But if y<sup>e</sup> King or Parliament, y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates of y<sup>e</sup> Nation, had declared, if wee would alter our tyme in y<sup>e</sup> day for our publike Exercise or Worship wee might have peace, wee should have been willing to hearken to it, though not to a wicked Informer.

Yet our Presbyterian Friends, (viz.) Mr. Weekes' people, could not be prevailed with to meet att 9 and att one, or before, as formerly; but they would and did Alter their tyme to near 11, and three for y<sup>e</sup> afternoon.

18th Lord's day, being y<sup>e</sup> 19th, 10 Mo. 1675. Our Congregation mett as formerly, Expecting a great deale of trouble, and that all y<sup>e</sup> Weight and burden would lie upon us; because Mr. Weekes' people, who did use to take up some of y<sup>e</sup> Persecutor's tyme, had altered y<sup>e</sup> hour, and left us in that respect. But it pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord that wee had peace all y<sup>e</sup> day; y<sup>e</sup> like wee had not had for many Months before. Praise bee to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, who alone tooke care of us, when wee were in our low estate, 3 Neh. 5, and y<sup>e</sup> Meeting grown very poore and leane through fines, imprisonments, and constant Whorrying of us every day, that wee had noe rest for so long tyme; that is, our two Congregations, namely, Mr. Weekes' and ours, that lay somewhat near together, and were y<sup>e</sup> first onsett of Hellyar and y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates, as y<sup>e</sup> frontiers of y<sup>e</sup> other Meetings. Soe that by that tyme they could any day end with us, y<sup>e</sup> other Meetings had done. So they generally escaped. *Laus Deo.* In y<sup>e</sup> mount it shall bee seen.

19th Lord's day, being 26th of y<sup>e</sup> 10th Mo. 1675. Wee were all day quiett, though we kept our tyme as formerly. Praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord! Thus two dayes together wee had breathing. But,

20th Lord's day, being 2nd of y<sup>e</sup> 11th Mo. 1675. Wee were againe assaulted and troubled. *In* y<sup>e</sup> morning, about 10 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock, Hellyar and his Man Thomas Eyre, and his Groome, with y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Secretary, with y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's new Coachman and Butler, as said, came first to Mr. Weekes'. Where finding some of their people come together, but they not having begun, *then* Hellyar, with y<sup>e</sup> rest afore-mentioned, came to our Meeting, (of which wee had Notice in y<sup>e</sup> Morning); and although our Bro. Jenings had been preaching, yet, att theire coming up, wee were singing. And Br. Terrill, against whome there was a Deposition filed on record, and divers warrants granted out tyme after tyme, to take him for *Preaching* that they could prove, Some months past, and by reason thereof, though he was still att y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, was sett in such a place that they could not see him. *But now* hee was willing to sitt in theire view, that they might see him. *And* when Hellyar came up, and saw him sitt at y<sup>e</sup> Table, where formerly, before y<sup>e</sup> Evidence against him for preaching, he used to see him sitt, Hellyar turned back, and whispered to his servant Tho. Eyre, and sent him away (as we perceive afterward) for Alderman Ollive, hee that had been Mayor last yeare. And then when Hellyar and y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Secretary with y<sup>e</sup> rest had walked about and viewed y<sup>e</sup> People, especially Br. Terrill as observed, and they were pleasant among themselves, that now they should have him, knowing whome they had sent for; but in y<sup>e</sup> meane space, Untill y<sup>e</sup> Alderman came, they would improve theire tyme, and soe they were moved to depart, and went to Br. Gifford's Meeting, and disturbed them. And when they came back y<sup>e</sup> Alderman Ollive came, and they with him, (expecting surely to have taken away Br. Terrill, against whome they had soe great an advantage as prooffe that hee

preached : and soe, by y<sup>e</sup> Five Mile Act, they watched to imprison him, As they had done our Pastour twice, for 6 Mo. at a tyme, and now in Prison). *But* some brethren, in y<sup>e</sup> interim, when Hellier with y<sup>e</sup> rest was gone to Br. Gifford's, perswaded Br. Terrill to withdraw into y<sup>e</sup> place whereinto we did use to convey y<sup>e</sup> speaker when officers came in. *Soe* that when they came up, and not finding Br. Terrill at y<sup>e</sup> Table, where a little before they saw him, Alderman Ollive began to bee in a rage that hee came in vaine, and in great Passion he commanded y<sup>e</sup> People in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to be gone. But they kept singing, and regarded not what hee said. Then, in words, he vehemently fell upon Br. Dickason, when about 7 weekes before hee had cast him into prison, but was afterwards released; and since that Br. Dickason was sworne a Constable, and therefore y<sup>e</sup> Alderman thought hee had an advantage against him for being att such an unlawfull assembly, being a *Constable*, and threatened to fine him 5*l*. But Br. Dickason told him he did not looke upon it *an unlawfull* assembly. Y<sup>e</sup> Alderman layes *violent* hands on him, pulles him out of y<sup>e</sup> seate where hee sate, and commands him to doe his office (meaning, to disperse y<sup>e</sup> people). Hee told him hee was sworne to keepe y<sup>e</sup> King's peace, and he saw nobody breake y<sup>e</sup> peace as yet; If he did, hee would take them into Custody; and to that Effect. *Thus* after y<sup>e</sup> Alderman and Hellier had taken what names they pleased, they left us, and went away to Mr. Weekes' meeting, and turned them out of their Meeting-place. And soe when they were gone, our tyme being expired, we concluded in Prayer. *In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon* we were quiett. Praise bee to y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

Y<sup>e</sup> 11th Month, 1675. Upon y<sup>e</sup> 4th instant wee kept our quarterly joynt-meeting att y<sup>e</sup> Castle, being y<sup>e</sup> 3d of y<sup>e</sup> Weeke, according to y<sup>e</sup> tyme appointed by Brethren of y<sup>e</sup> 4 Congregations, that wee should joyne together in a quarterly *fast*; but Mr. Weekes' people, because we would not, (viz.) y<sup>e</sup> other 3 Congregations would not, fall in with them to alter our tyme for *Publique worship* on y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day as they did, att Hellier's proposall or Intimation, That if we did alter our tyme he would not meddle with us; *Therefore* they sent not two *Brethren* to help carry on y<sup>e</sup> day of Prayer, as y<sup>e</sup> rest did. And soe they, y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterians, broke y<sup>e</sup> *Union* that they formerly did agree to. But y<sup>e</sup> other three Congregations Joyned together, and y<sup>e</sup> day was carried on by 6 Brethren. Thus they began to make a Breach. Which was occasioned by a young man, one of their Members, going to dine with Hellier, who Lyed unto them, as y<sup>e</sup> Last Lord's day shewed; and, as we told them, hee was to bee no more Credited than regarded.

Y<sup>e</sup> evening of this day, about 8 or 9 of y<sup>e</sup> Clock at night, there was observed to be an *Earthquake* in this City, in divers parts thereof. People as they sate in their houses their stooles did rock, and some observed their Beds and Walls rocked, that some ran out of their Houses thinking y<sup>e</sup> House was goeing to fall; others,

their Pewter fell down, and things off y<sup>e</sup> Racks over their Clavyes. Many perceived it not; but some Houses in y<sup>e</sup> Colledge Green, and some over y<sup>e</sup> Bridge, and some by y<sup>e</sup> Weaire, and some in y<sup>e</sup> Midst of y<sup>e</sup> Citty, hardly a street but some or other that were sitting still felt it. *And alsoe this Earthquake* att y<sup>e</sup> same tyme was observed att Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and in Wales.

21 Lord's day. *Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 9th of y<sup>e</sup> 11th Mo. 1675, being y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, wee were very quiett all y<sup>e</sup> day. *Praise bee to y<sup>e</sup> Lord.*

*On* y<sup>e</sup> 12th instant, our Brethren and friends, (viz.) 5 men, were, at y<sup>e</sup> qr sessions, discharged from their imprisonment att Newgate, to which they were committed about 2 Mo. before. But our Pastour, *Mr. Hardcastle*, was not yett released, but remained a Prisoner; his Second 6 mo. imprisonment being not quite expired.

*Our* friends released had a Counsellor-at-Law to plead for their discharge by Law. Hellier pleaded against it, and said hee would frame an indictment against them for a Riott. Y<sup>e</sup> Counsel pleaded it was more than hee could doe by law.

22nd Lord's day, being 16th 11 Mo. 1675. We expected againe great distraction in our meeting; for y<sup>e</sup> troubler of our Israel, Hellier, y<sup>e</sup> day before went to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Sr Robert Cann, and to y<sup>e</sup> Alderman of y<sup>e</sup> Ward in which wee mett, Mr. Crump, and informed against our Meeting and Mr. Gifford's; only those two. As for that at James' Back, said he, (meaning Mr. Weekes' meeting,) I have nothing to say; they doe *Submitt*, and keep their Words, and not meet untill after ten of y<sup>e</sup> clock. But as for oures and Mr. Gifford's, being also within his parish, he did informe against, and required y<sup>e</sup> said Alderman Crump to bee there in person. Y<sup>e</sup> Alderman told him hee would not be there in person, but would send his Warrants by y<sup>e</sup> *Constables*. Hellier replied, y<sup>e</sup> Constables would not execute his warrants, for divers of them did not goe to Church themselves. Y<sup>e</sup> Alderman bid him not take care of that; y<sup>e</sup> *Constables* should doe what was their office.

*Hellyar* threatened what hee would doe to us, and Ordered y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's Clarke to prepare y<sup>e</sup> Warrants ready against us. *Where-upon* y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and y<sup>e</sup> said Alderman, sent to Br. Terrill privately to wish us to alter our tyme, and not meet untill ten of y<sup>e</sup> Clock. But our friends were not willing soe to doe, Because this request was grounded upon Hellier's desires, and to gratify him. *Which*, had it been only and singly y<sup>e</sup> request of y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates, wee should more easily have condescended. But it being Hellier's foundation, wee could not find a freedom in friends; but they came together at their usual tyme, as formerly, *and* kept open our doores. Yet wee sate still about a quarter of an houre, and did not begin, in respect to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and Alderman's request; Because we heard Hellier had two writts against y<sup>e</sup> said Alderman, for not coming formerly with him in person, as often as hee would have him, to disturb us.

*But, Notwithstanding* all Hellier's threats, God did soe dishearten

him, that hee had above this twelve Mo. persecuted us, could doe noe good upon us, that this day hee came not. *Soe wee had rest* all day. Praise bee to y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

*23d Lord's day* After our Pastour's Second Imprisonment, being, 23d 11 Mo. 1675. *Now Ends* our Pastour's Second imprisonment for 6 Mo.; (viz.) 28 dayes to y<sup>e</sup> Month, which y<sup>e</sup> law allowes, not to count Kalendar Months; for soe it was not expired. But 6 Months according to y<sup>e</sup> satisfying of y<sup>e</sup> Law being expired, our Pastour Mr. Hardcastle would not abate y<sup>e</sup> Adversary one houre. He being carried away to Prison that day 6 twenty-eight dayes, between 9 and 10 in y<sup>e</sup> morning, hee comes, at y<sup>e</sup> expiration of 24 Weekes, which is according to Law, att y<sup>e</sup> same houre, into our Publique Meeting, and preacheth openly as before in y<sup>e</sup> morning. Br. Terrill having begun y<sup>e</sup> Meeting with Prayer, and by that tyme, before he had done, our Pastour came in, and preached, and was quiett. And soe in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon againe, and not disturbed by y<sup>e</sup> informers. Praise bee to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, that discouraged y<sup>e</sup> Adversary, and gave such a Spirit of courage to our Pastour under all his Circumstances of trouble, tyme after tyme, not only from foes, but from friends with Arguments for Prudence, so called. But he accompted his still persevering, with Daniel, in open duty, y<sup>e</sup> best policy and safety.

*Y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day*, being 6th of 12 Mo, 1675. Our Pastor keeps on in Publique preaching with us as formerly, and wee were quiett all day; Praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord. Which we take as an earnest of further liberty. *This* day, in our Publique Meeting-place, after y<sup>e</sup> Multitude departed, *Y<sup>e</sup> Church Members* staying, Notice is given to y<sup>e</sup> Church by y<sup>e</sup> Pastour for keeping next 3d day of y<sup>e</sup> week a day of Prayer, in Order to y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, in our Monthly day, to Breake bread. And now, this 6th of y<sup>e</sup> 12th Mo, two are Proposed to joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Church, (viz) Mr. Hill, one of y<sup>e</sup> Hearers that was imprisoned, and Mrs. Orchard, one of y<sup>e</sup> Hearers whose Goods were distrained for Meeting.

*On y<sup>e</sup> 12th of 1st Mo. 1675*, *Y<sup>e</sup> Bishop* coming home from Dorsetshire, hee sends a letter to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Sr Robert Cann, to informe him, and stirr him to disturb y<sup>e</sup> Castle Meeting (Mr. Thompson's, deceased). Who this day sent some Constables and a Serjeant, with a warrant, to them. Who, when they came there, and read theire warrant, which acquainted them of y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's information, and therefore desired them to depart, y<sup>e</sup> officers went away without any more trouble. But wee were quiett hitherto, Ever since our Pastour came forth, y<sup>e</sup> second tyme aforesaid, out of Prison. Praise bee to ye Lord!

*Upon y<sup>e</sup> 14th of March, first Mo, 1675*, Att our day of Prayer in Order to y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper, y<sup>e</sup> 4 persons before Propounded were spoken with; viz, *Mr. Roger Hill, Mrs. Orchard, Mary Mallard, and Mary Phillips*. They declared before y<sup>e</sup> whole Congregation

how y<sup>e</sup> Lord wrought upon them, and how they came to be *Converted*.

Att y<sup>e</sup> same instant, three more that had desires to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Church, Did then Propound to joyne; viz, *Grace Parsons*, servant to *Sister Vanattur* deceased, and one Goodwyfe, *Mary Hughes* of *Horvill*, and one *Mrs. Combe* of *Horvill*, daughter of *Mr. Dorny Towne-Clarke* of *Gloucester*. These, likewise, at y<sup>e</sup> same hour, declared what God had done for their soules.

*With 5 of these 7*, (viz), first named, y<sup>e</sup> Church were all satisfied to receive them y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, att breaking bread; but y<sup>e</sup> two last, (viz), *Goody Hughes* and *Mrs. Comb*, though in some measure satisfied with them, yett y<sup>e</sup> Church will not admit them att present, untill they have some further acquaintance with their spirits, this being but y<sup>e</sup> first day they knew of their desires to joyne. Wherefore our Pastor is ordered to desire them to waite some tyme, as y<sup>e</sup> rest had done.

*Upon 15th of y<sup>e</sup> 1st mo*, 1675, these 4 were baptized; namely, *Mrs. Orchard*, *Grace Parsons*, *Mary Mallard*, and *Mary Phillips*.

*Upon y<sup>e</sup> 19th instant*, being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, att our breaking of bread, in our Publique Meeting-place in *Broadmead*, these 5 were added members to this congregation; viz, *Mr. Roger Hill*, *Mrs. Orchard*, *Grace Parsons*, *Mary Mallard*, and *Mary Phillips*.

*Upon y<sup>e</sup> 20th day*, 1st Mo, 1675, *Jane Fry* deceased, and interred y<sup>e</sup> 23d day at *John's Yeard*.

*Anno 1676. Upon y<sup>e</sup> 26th of y<sup>e</sup> 1st Month*, or March, 1676, being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, being in peace, and in hopes that Persecution here was over for a tyme, Our Elders with y<sup>e</sup> Brethren order that our Church-meeting after y<sup>e</sup> sermon, once a fortnight, for y<sup>e</sup> Members to stay; and y<sup>e</sup> Members' Names to be called over, to see who Neglect their duty in assembling, and thereby then to have an opportunity to rectify other defects in any.

*Upon 16th of y<sup>e</sup> second Month*, Aprill, 1676, being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, after y<sup>e</sup> afternoon Sermon, y<sup>e</sup> Members of y<sup>e</sup> Church staying, these 5 persons were Propounded to joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Church, they having before been with y<sup>e</sup> Pastour and desired it; viz, *Mrs. Phelpes*, *Mrs. Mosely*, *Goodwife Cott*, *Elizabeth Smith*, *Cary's maid*.

*Upon y<sup>e</sup> 18th day*, att a day of Prayer, in Order to breaking bread, these 3 namely, *Mrs. Phelpes*, *Mrs. Moseley*, and *Elizabeth Smith*, made their declaration of their Conversion, and y<sup>e</sup> worke of God upon their soules. Y<sup>e</sup> Church was satisfied therewith to receive them.

*Upon y<sup>e</sup> 22nd day of y<sup>e</sup> 2d Mo*. 1676, Goodwife *Mary Hughes*, and *Mrs. Coombe*, were baptized in y<sup>e</sup> River *Froome*, by Br. *Terrill's* house.

*Upon y<sup>e</sup> 23rd day*, being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, att breaking of bread in our Publique Meeting-house, these were received Members, viz, said *Sister Mary Hughes* of *Horvill*, *Sister Coombe*, *Sister Phelpes*, with *Sister Mosely*.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 9th of 3d Mo, 1676, att our Monthly day of Prayer,—our Pastour, being last, was gone to Yorkshire,—aged Mr. Robertson, husband to our late deceased sister, was propounded to joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation.

Upon 2d day of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Mo, 1676. Att a Church Meeting on y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day after y<sup>e</sup> afternoon sermon in our Publique place in Broadmead, said Mr. Robertson gave his declaration before y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, how y<sup>e</sup> Lord wrought upon him in his old age, being above 70 years old. Y<sup>e</sup> Church was satisfied to receive him.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 7th of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Month, 1676, y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. John Robertson, and Elizabeth Smyth, were baptized in y<sup>e</sup> River Froome. Mr. Robertson was very aged, and very feeble, weake, and short-breathed; wherefore some discouraged him not to take up y<sup>e</sup> ordinance of baptism. Whereupon he was in some feare, and would put off; but hee being persuaded it was a Christian's duty, some advised him to trust in y<sup>e</sup> Lord for strength to yield obedience to his owne Command, and for preservation in it. And soe hee did resolve not to tarry longer. And then hee was baptized, and received no harm, notwithstanding his age and greate weakness. *Praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord!* And upon y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Mo following, att y<sup>e</sup> Lord's supper, hee was admitted a Member of this Congregation; and alsoe *Elizabeth Smyth*.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 2d day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Mo, 1676, Sister Joane Ewins, widdow, deceased, aged 70 yeares, y<sup>e</sup> relict of our late deare Pastour Thomas Ewins. Which was about 6 yeares and a halfe after her said Husband's decease.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 26th of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Mo, 1676, after y<sup>e</sup> sermon upon y<sup>e</sup> 5th day of y<sup>e</sup> Weeke, at our Publique meeting-place in Broadmead, y<sup>e</sup> Brethren staid that were then present, whose names are under-written, and Considered of y<sup>e</sup> Providence that now presented, of 5 Elders and brethren that were coming down from London, to visit a Neighbouring Church in y<sup>e</sup> Country about 15 miles off near Bradford or Trowbridge, to settle some disorder there; as y<sup>e</sup> Pastor thereof, T. C., holding forth some unsound Doctrine, or New Notions, Contrary to y<sup>e</sup> generall reception of Sound and *Orthodox* Men. Y<sup>e</sup> names of y<sup>e</sup> London Brethren were, Br. Kiffin, Br. Deane, Br. Fitten, Br. Cox, and Br. Moreton. Now y<sup>e</sup> brethren all agreed it would be a fitt opportunity for us to invite them to Bristoll, when so near, to Ordaine our Pastour, *Br. Tho. Hardcastle*.

Y<sup>e</sup> brethren present were,

Br. King,	Br. Jenings,	Br. Gwilliam,
Br. Ford,	Br. Dickason,	Br. Fry,
Br. Snead,	Br. Dennis,	Br. Bland,
Br. Lewis,	Br. Rieves,	Br. Child,
Br. Bryan,	Br. Willis,	Br. Thos. Jones,
B. Bodenham,	B. Evans,	B. Towne,
B. Purnell,	B. Morgan,	B. Hall,
	B. Terrill.	

*These* Brethren concluded and appointed Br. Gwilliam, Br. Rieves, Br. Dickason, Br. Jennings, and B. Terrill, to goe from them to our said Pastour Elect, and desire his concurrence with them to send to those London Brethren, when come downe, to come hither y<sup>e</sup> next Weeke; and that a day for Fasting and Prayer be appointed by y<sup>e</sup> Church, Principally to ordaine him Pastour to this Church, by laying on of hands; that so those Elders from London, att y<sup>e</sup> request of y<sup>e</sup> Church, may joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Church in y<sup>e</sup> said Worke.

*Answer.* Those Brethren and Elders that came to Trowbridge from London, when they had done there, could not bee prevailed with to come to Bristoll (because of great personall concernes at home), but returned to London. And soe *Ordination* was deferred.

*Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 12th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Mo. An<sup>o</sup> 1676, att our breaking bread in Broadmead, Mrs. Anne Hardcastle, our pastor's wyfe, and S. Barbara Whitehead, Bro. Whitehead's wyfe, being both members of two churches in London, were, by letters of recommendation, admitted into y<sup>e</sup> Congregation-Fellowship, and to Breaking of bread.

Mrs. Hardcastle's letter was from Mr. Tho. Vincent, Pastour of a Congregation in London, who is a reputed *Presbyterian*. But as wee doe, soe they,—that church,—do, admitt members, (viz.) 1. *Upon Enquiry* of y<sup>e</sup> parties' Knowledge of God, and y<sup>e</sup> Doctrine of Salvation. 2. *Upon Enquiry* of y<sup>e</sup> Work of Grace upon their *Hearts*. 3. *Upon Enquiry* of a Good and blameless *Conversation*. These 3 things his letter did expresse.

*S. Whitehead* had noe letter to us, but there was a letter of *Recommendation* for her to Br. Gifford, from Mr. Kiffen's Congregation. But she was not willing to sitt downe with them, but with us.

*Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 5th day of y<sup>e</sup> 10th Mo. 1676, Goodwyfe Knight, in Baldwin Street, and y<sup>e</sup> widdow Hickman, were both *Propounded*, being our Monthly day of Prayer. And they were spoken with at y<sup>e</sup> same time, and gave their Declaration of y<sup>e</sup> work of God upon their hearts;—both of them Ancient, or long hearers and attenders upon y<sup>e</sup> Means of Grace. Y<sup>e</sup> first, Goodwyfe Knight, spake but little, though very serious, grave, and sober; y<sup>e</sup> widow Hickman, a woman of many Temptations, and liberall in her speech, and experiences. Y<sup>e</sup> *Congregation* declared their satisfaction for both their Admission into y<sup>e</sup> Congregation; But some desired they might be made to waite some tyme yet on y<sup>e</sup> Congregation before admitted, To try their spirits and to enquire into their *Conversations*.

*UPON* y<sup>e</sup> 31st of 10th Mo, 1676, Br. King, that had for about 8 or 9 yeares walked with us, by vertue of a letter of Recommendation from a Church in London, was this day wholly Added to y<sup>e</sup> Care, and Oversight, and Power of this Congregation, as a Member of it and of no other Congregation, by vertue of a letter of Dismission from y<sup>e</sup> said Church in London walking with Mr.



Palmer, Pastour, to this Congregation walking with Mr. Hardcastle; which letter was read to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, who staid after y<sup>e</sup> Publique assembly was departed, after y<sup>e</sup> Afternoon Sermon this Lord's day.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 7th of y<sup>e</sup> 11th Mo, 1676, *S. Martha Suter*, who had walked some few Months with this Congregation, by vertue of y<sup>e</sup> Communion of Churches, being a member of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation about Llantrission, was this day Added as a Member of this Congregation, by a Letter from y<sup>e</sup> said Church (to this), who did commit her to y<sup>e</sup> Care and Watch of this Church.

*Memorandum.*—That 31st 10th mo. 1676, before mentioned, being Lord's day, was y<sup>e</sup> first day of our Pastour's (Br Hardcastle) Changing and Preaching att y<sup>e</sup> Castle, in y<sup>e</sup> morning, once a Mo. for them; and theire Pastour (Mr. Wey) att y<sup>e</sup> same Morning Changing and Preaching with us.

THIS day some trouble began againe—haveing had just a yeare in our meetings free from trouble; for y<sup>e</sup> 2d of y<sup>e</sup> 11th Mo. 1675, were y<sup>e</sup> last Lord's day troubles,—by threatenings, and often Expecting them; and some of our Presbyterian Friends, two Excommunicated, Mr. Chock and Greenway, and writts upon y<sup>e</sup> *Excommunication* sent for them last terme; and some of our brethren, as B. Bodenham among others under *proceedings* for *Excommunication*. But our Meetings quiett; only this day, 7th January, 1676, two Serjeants were sent to Mr. Weekes' Meeting.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 14th day of 11 Mo, 1676 *Y<sup>e</sup> Bishop* sends to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor with informations of our Meetings, and getts warrants; which y<sup>e</sup> Mayor sent to y<sup>e</sup> *Constables*, (and not sent his Serjeants,) who went, as it were for a shew, to Br. Gifford's meeting before they began in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, and soe departed.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, being y<sup>e</sup> 11th day of y<sup>e</sup> 12th Month, 1676, S. Knight and S. Hickman were added Members of this Congregation, at Breaking bread in our Publique Meeting-place.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 6th day 1 Month, 1676-7, Att our Monthly day of Prayer, in order to y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper, this *Sad occasion happened*, That *Br. Tho. Jacob*, a Member of this Congregation, had of late declined his duty, and neglected y<sup>e</sup> assembling of himselfe with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, only Lord's dayes, but very *Seldome on y<sup>e</sup> Weeke-dayes* meeting, or at dayes of Prayer. And alsoe hee had been observed to have drunck too much, soe that he did reele and was drunck more than twice, kept bad company, and proceeded to bad words in his drinke. Of which, some of y<sup>e</sup> Members that saw it or heard of it, did goe to him after y<sup>e</sup> first tyme, and tell him of it, between that person and himselfe alone. Hee seemed to be sorry for it, and repent of it; but falling againe another tyme, and that Brother hearing of it, hee took two or 3 other Brethren with him, (seeing by his *Actions* he did not hearken to his *private Admonition*) and they Admonished him of his sin, and *Exhorted* him to his duty; and att his house in a roome by

themselves, att that tyme, they Prayed with him, and he seemed to be sorry for his evil, and to repent of it in Words. But hee was observed againe to be in drinke, pretty late att night att an Inne. This coming to y<sup>e</sup> Ears of y<sup>e</sup> Church, being revealed to one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, two were sent to said Br. Jacob to order him to be at y<sup>e</sup> Church Meeting this day sevensnight last, (which was alsoe a day of Prayer upon an extraordinary occasion). But hee came not. Therefore y<sup>e</sup> church sent two Brethren againe to said Br. Jacob, to acquaint him that hee must attend y<sup>e</sup> Church-Meeting this day, and that if he did not come it would hasten their proceeding to cast him out of y<sup>e</sup> church. Soe hee came. And being present, in y<sup>e</sup> after parte of y<sup>e</sup> day, after 5 or 6 Brethren had prayed, and some spake short in y<sup>e</sup> Interims of Prayer, and when none there but y<sup>e</sup> Members of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, y<sup>e</sup> Pastour calls for y<sup>e</sup> said Br. to draw neare y<sup>e</sup> Table. And by reason he had before received y<sup>e</sup> private Admonition, and secondly y<sup>e</sup> Witnessing Admonition, y<sup>e</sup> said Pastour proceeds to give him y<sup>e</sup> Church's Admonition. Which, after his two Evills (1, of his neglecting due Attendance to y<sup>e</sup> Meetings of y<sup>e</sup> Church; 2, of drunkennesse) were laid to his charge, and hee not denying them, but confessing y<sup>e</sup> matters of fact (*Here y<sup>e</sup> church must bee asked, after y<sup>e</sup> Charge declared to them, and charged upon him, whether they did all agree he should have a Church Admonition from them? which they shew by their silence*) laid to his Charge, which, if hee had denyed, y<sup>e</sup> Elders could prove it,—for they had y<sup>e</sup> matters of fact writt downe in two several papers, y<sup>e</sup> tyme when, and places where done, and y<sup>e</sup> Words spoken, and who Witnesses,—by those brethren to whom y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of it came, and that had dealt with him as aforesaid for it. Which one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders Ordered to bee done, and prepared it, and did looke that those Brethren that told of it had first done their duty towards him, before it should bee brought before y<sup>e</sup> Church; that soe hee might have noe opportunity to complaine of a disorderly dealing with him, But that hee might be Regularly proceeded with; to y<sup>e</sup> End hee might be thoroughly convinced of his Sinne, and reclaimed from it; which is y<sup>e</sup> End of Christ's Command for dealing. Soe that after y<sup>e</sup> charge aforesaid laid to him, y<sup>e</sup> Pastour laboured to show y<sup>e</sup> Evill nature, danger, and consequence of y<sup>e</sup> Sinne unto him, before all y<sup>e</sup> Congregation. *Then hee Pronounced y<sup>e</sup> Sentence in y<sup>e</sup> names of our Lord Jesus Christ, and this Congregation; (to which all y<sup>e</sup> Brethren Putt off their Hatts, y<sup>e</sup> sisters not to sitt but stand up, when hee began so to speake:)*—*That he did Admonish him,* y<sup>e</sup> said Br. Jacob, of those two sinns—forsaking y<sup>e</sup> assembling of himselfe with y<sup>e</sup> Church, and of Drunkennesse.

*Then,* after it was demanded of him whether he did repent of it, *Hee declared* hee did; and answered, he did hope y<sup>e</sup> Lord would give him strength, for tyme to come, against it. Then, seeing he did submitt, one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders declared to him, y<sup>e</sup> Church would

waite some tyme to see if he did bring forth fruits meet for repentance, And bid him take notice and understand he was not *Cast Out* of y<sup>e</sup> Church, but stood only under y<sup>e</sup> Church's Admonition; hoping he would amend, and not give them ground to proceed further with him to finall rejection, but to restoration.

After all this, y<sup>e</sup> same day, there were three persons, upon their desire, propounded to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, (viz,) 1. Mr. Kineton's daughter, named Joyce Kineton. 2. A Dark woman, that lives on Austin's Back, named Attkins. 3. A poore woman, named Sarah Edwards. These were proposed to Joyne with this Congregation, y<sup>e</sup> 6th day of 1 Month, 1677.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 8th day of y<sup>e</sup> 2nd month, 1677, being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day and our day of breaking bread, att y<sup>e</sup> Close of that Ordinance these two were propounded to Joyne, viz., *Thomas Army* a baker, and *Anne Vaughan* Servant to Br. Terrill. Their desires to Joyne to y<sup>e</sup> Church were declared to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, and then wee ended with Prayer.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 22nd day of y<sup>e</sup> 2nd Month, 1677, a Blazeing starr was seen here in Bristoll by one of our Congregation, Br. Towne, and some others, between 2 and 3 in y<sup>e</sup> morning; by his description, should rise North-East, y<sup>e</sup> taile bending S. South-West. This was seen divers days here by some, and att London alsoe.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 1st day of y<sup>e</sup> 3rd Month, 1677, being our Monthly day of Prayer before y<sup>e</sup> Supper, These 6 persons following, that had been, most, long before propounded to joyne with this Congregation, they now gave their several declarations of y<sup>e</sup> worke of God upon their spirits, All declaring they were borne againe, and y<sup>e</sup> manner how God wrought y<sup>e</sup> Change upon their hearts, and that brought them to believe upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus Christ; (viz), *Thomas Army*, *Goodwife Atkins*, *Sarah Edwards*, *Joyce Kineton*, *Anne Vaughan*. Alsoe *Mrs. Rowley* was this day Propounded, and spoken with at y<sup>e</sup> same time, after y<sup>e</sup> rest.

Note.—Mrs. Rowley, for some Months before, had declared to Br. Hardcastle and Br. Terrill her desires to joyne; but her Circumstances were such, by *opposite Relations* to y<sup>e</sup> truth, that wee did not propound her Publicuely to y<sup>e</sup> Church att noe other Meeting before, untill this day that she was spoken with by y<sup>e</sup> Church, att there being entirely together; and then she declared how shee came to be Convinced of sin, and to Close in with Christ.

After they were withdrawne a little while y<sup>e</sup> Church discoursed about them between themselves, and upon y<sup>e</sup> whole, in y<sup>e</sup> Judgment of Charity, did hope they were sincere; Therefore sent for them in, and y<sup>e</sup> Pastour, in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> Church, declared y<sup>e</sup> Church's Satisfaction to receive them as Members. This att Br. Terrill's house this meeting was.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 2nd day of y<sup>e</sup> 3rd Mo., 1677, these 3 of those above mentioned were Baptized at Br. Terrill's, in y<sup>e</sup> river by his house;

viz., *Thomas Army, Goodwife Atkins, Anne Vaughan.*

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 6th day of 3rd Month, 1677, being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day and our Monthly day for breaking bread, after y<sup>e</sup> Afternoon sermon in our Publick Meeting-place in *Broadmead*, when y<sup>e</sup> Bread and wine lay on y<sup>e</sup> Table in order to celebrate y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper, just before y<sup>e</sup> Entrance of that Ordinance, these six persons before mentioned were admitted into this Congregation; and by our Pastour, Br. Hardcastle, according to our usuall manner, y<sup>e</sup> Priviledges and duties declared to them how they ought to behave themselves in y<sup>e</sup> house of God, one towards another, to receive and give reproofe, according to Matt. xviii. 15—18, and towards them that are sett over them. In all which they are referred to *Christ*, their great Prophet's rules in y<sup>e</sup> Holy Scripture, and to y<sup>e</sup> guidance of his Holy Spirit; that they must *Hearken to Christ* as their teacher, and obey him as their King, as well as take him to be their Priest to make Atonement to save them. And then y<sup>e</sup> Pastour names them, one by one, They standing up all y<sup>e</sup> while in y<sup>e</sup> Midst of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, and soe att last declares them Members, in y<sup>e</sup> name of Christ and this Church, saying, Wee give you y<sup>e</sup> right hand of fellowship as members of this Church; (viz.),

Thomas Army,	Ann Atkins,	Joyce Kineton,
Anne Vaughan,	Sarah Edwards,	Mrs. Rowley.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 25th of 3rd Mo. 1677, these six persons following were Baptized in y<sup>e</sup> river Froome, being Members of this Church, att S. Young's house, in y<sup>e</sup> Evening:—

1. S. Skinker,	2. S. Rowley,	3. S. Hardcastle,
4. S. Browne,	5. S. Davis, widdow of Capt. Davis,	
6. S. Hickman.		

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 19th of y<sup>e</sup> 4th Mo. 1677, Guy Carleton, y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Bristoll, againe att his coming home from Parliament, sent a letter by his Secretary to Sr John Knight, to acquaint him of a meeting in y<sup>e</sup> Castle this morning, being Lord's day. Who being with y<sup>e</sup> present Mayor, Alderman Crabb, at his Parish Church of Temple, y<sup>e</sup> Secretary came and rusht open y<sup>e</sup> Pew upon Sr John as hee was at his Devotion upon his knees, and delivers him y<sup>e</sup> paper from y<sup>e</sup> Bishop. *Whereupon* Sr John, advising with the Mayor, sends 4 Serjeants to disperse y<sup>e</sup> Meeting of Mr. Wey in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, and soe they departed. And afterwards those Serjeants turned Informers, and upon their Oathes, and sware against 6 of y<sup>e</sup> men there mett; and they were Convicted upon y<sup>e</sup> Conventicle Act.

*Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 24th day of 4th Mo. Bishop againe sent to Sr Jo. Knight to disturb y<sup>e</sup> Castle Meeting; and they were disturbed by some Serjeants that turned them out, and would not goe away till they were all gone.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 29th day of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Mo. 1677, S. Lydia Symms's husband

having 2 daies since arrested S. Murrey (a sister that of late was struck with y<sup>e</sup> palsy on one side, and aged, and growne to some decay by frowning providences,) for the 3l. 10s. principall, residue of 6l., with some interest, and Shee having done this to arrest a Member contrary to y<sup>e</sup> rules of Christ; and this Lord's day, in y<sup>e</sup> morning, after this fact, our Pastour, and one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders, sent a brother to her (shee being now in y<sup>e</sup> Citty) to tell her he would speak with her after y<sup>e</sup> Evening Sermon. But shee came not then to him. Whereupon, by consent of y<sup>e</sup> church, The Elders ordered S. Lux and S. Rose Teague to goe to her, and to admonish her of her not attending y<sup>e</sup> appointment of our Pastour, and to tell her y<sup>e</sup> Church orders her appearance before them y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, to answer what shall be laid to her charge. This was done before all, because shee had sinned openly; (that is), broken y<sup>e</sup> rules of Christ, to goe to Law with a member before y<sup>e</sup> ———. Shee, S. Symms, ought first to have admonished S. Murry privately, for not paying. 2. If S. Murray did not pay her, to have taken one, two, or three Members with her, and have given her y<sup>e</sup> Witnessing admonition. 3. If she, S. Murry, had not Satisfied her upon that Then shee, S. Symms, was to have told it to y<sup>e</sup> Church, that they might have dealt with S. Murry for not paying; and if she was able to doe it, and not pay her, S. Murray ought to have been cast out of the Church, (if y<sup>e</sup> Church saw reason soe to doe,) and then shee S. Symms, might have arrested her.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 2nd of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo. 1677, S. Forde, y<sup>e</sup> wyfe of Br. John Forde, a Deacon of this Congregation, being departed, was interred at Redcliffe.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 3d of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo. 1677, Br. Andr. Gifford ordained Elder to that congregation, by Br. Dike and Br. Cox, Elders of severall churches in London.

Sister Symms being ordered, as before, to attend y<sup>e</sup> Church y<sup>e</sup> last Lord's day, shee came not; being, as said, Sick. Therefore that day y<sup>e</sup> Church sent to her againe, to attend y<sup>e</sup> Church y<sup>e</sup> 3d day of this Weeke, y<sup>e</sup> 7th instant, being our Monthly day of Prayer. Shee came, but went away before y<sup>e</sup> worke of prayer was over, saying, shee thought shee was not able to stay. Therefore y<sup>e</sup> church, Considering she was with child, was willing to deale tenderly with her, otherwise would have declared our withdrawing from her; therefore againe Ordered two sisters, S. Smith and S. Cornish, to goe to her, and Order her to attend y<sup>e</sup> Church-Meeting upon y<sup>e</sup> 5th day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke; after Sermon to stay, or else we should withdraw from her, till she gave y<sup>e</sup> church Satisfaction in all.

Soe upon y<sup>e</sup> 9th of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Mo. 1677, shee accordingly came to y<sup>e</sup> Sermon. But after it was done, y<sup>e</sup> Members of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation present being bid to stay a while after y<sup>e</sup> people were gone down, S. Symms alsoe gott downe into a low roome that belonged to our Meeting-place, (where repetition of y<sup>e</sup> Sermon was by one of y<sup>e</sup>

younger brethren used to be made), and shee would have some of y<sup>e</sup> Church to come down unto her, saying, she could not come up and speak in y<sup>e</sup> presence of soe many. But y<sup>e</sup> Elders of y<sup>e</sup> church sent down two Sisters, againe and againe, to tell her duty to attend y<sup>e</sup> Church, and not they upon her; And if shee did nor come up, they would presently withdraw from her. *Soe* att last shee came up to y<sup>e</sup> Church, in our Meeting-place in Broadmead; and then our Pastour laid to her charge y<sup>e</sup> report and common fame, that she was y<sup>e</sup> Cause that her husband Arrested Sister Murry, and soe Scandall came upon y<sup>e</sup> wayes of God, as being contrary to y<sup>e</sup> Rule, 1 Cor. vi. 1—5. And therefore he charged her to deal faithfully, as in y<sup>e</sup> presence of God and his people, to tell y<sup>e</sup> truth; If she was guilty to confesse her sinne, and give Glory to God, and manifest repentance. But shee declared that she was free from y<sup>e</sup> charge, and did never perswade him to arrest S. Murry, but on y<sup>e</sup> Contrary.

This y<sup>e</sup> Church rested satisfied with; because her husband alsoe, to our Pastour and some other Brethren, had owned y<sup>e</sup> thing as his owne Act, and without her privacy, and soe released her. Hee being no member, wee could say nothing unto him.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 7th day of y<sup>e</sup> sixth Mo. 1677, Mr. Sam. Hunt and Mr. John Shuter, (husband to S. Shuter y<sup>e</sup> younger), were Proposed to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, att our day of Prayer.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 26th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo. 1677, Benjamin Warren was proposed to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, by one of y<sup>e</sup> ruling Elders, after sermon in y<sup>e</sup> Evening of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, when y<sup>e</sup> Church staid, our Pastour being out of Towne.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 4th of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Month, 1677, being Lord's day, Mary Webb, daughter of sister Webb, was propounded to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation. Y<sup>e</sup> next day, being y<sup>e</sup> fifth of November, (the Nation's Anniversary day of thanksgiving, for y<sup>e</sup> Parliament's deliverance from being blown up by y<sup>e</sup> papists' Gunpowder treason, on y<sup>e</sup> said day, Ann<sup>o</sup> Dom. 1603), a day of leisure from Employment for y<sup>e</sup> people, wee kept that day for our Monthly day of Prayer, that was to bee that weeke, in Order to y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper. Att which tyme, in y<sup>e</sup> close of y<sup>e</sup> day, 3 of y<sup>e</sup> persons before propounded, gave, before all y<sup>e</sup> Congregation present (the roome full), their account, how y<sup>e</sup> Lord wrought y<sup>e</sup> worke of Conversion upon their hearts: (viz), Mr. Hunt, Benjamin Warren, and Mary Webb, with which y<sup>e</sup> Congregation was Satisfied. And they, y<sup>e</sup> Congregation aforesaid, declared their Consent to receive them Members y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, 11th Nov. 1677.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 8th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Mo., 1677, these 6 Brethren went to Br Jeremy Courtney's, some of which, with others, had been with him severall tymes before, to reprove and admonish him of his sinne of drunkenness that hee was fallen into; and was upon y<sup>e</sup> 5th instant att an *Ale-house*, when y<sup>e</sup> Church kept a day of prayer y<sup>e</sup> same tyme. He seemed, as formerly, to declare his Repentance and Sorrow for his sinne, and wee putt him to pray against his

sinne, which hee . . . But we expect y<sup>e</sup> fruite of repentance, (viz), reformation. Br. Daniel Gwilliam, Br. Cornish, Br. Richard Towne, Br. Snead, Br. Bodenham, Br. Terrill.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Mo, 1677, Br. Benjamin Warren and Mary Webb, daughter of S. Webb, in Corn street, were Baptized in y<sup>e</sup> river Froome, by Br. Terrill's house.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 11th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9th mo 1677, Br. Hen. Fieldust, as soon as sermon was ended, and after y<sup>e</sup> last prayer, in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, hee began to exclaime against one Mr. Young, husband to S. Young, about some worldly business and dealings between them; for that somebody had, y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day before, given in a Bill to our Pastour, as if for one to be prayed for, wherein was signified, that Hen. Fieldust did by law endeavour to Ruine a family, but mentioned not what family, nor noe name to it, which our Pastour did not read, but concealed it; only in private, att another day, told B. Henry Fieldust of it. Hee was much troubled at it, and, supposeing it to bee some of Mr. Young's family, he did therefore, (this day as aforesaid), aloud and openly publish y<sup>e</sup> matters between them. And Hen. Fieldust's wyfe alsoe, (who was not a Member), did second her husband, and kept a loud open talkeing of their money, and y<sup>e</sup> matters of y<sup>e</sup> world in difference, Exclaiming thus before y<sup>e</sup> whole assembly, besides y<sup>e</sup> Church in y<sup>e</sup> face of many Strangers, to y<sup>e</sup> great disturbance of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation and people. And although our Pastour, (being surprized att that noise and clamorous discourse), bid him bee silent, yet they began againe, and loudly Clamoured: that y<sup>e</sup> Pastour, calling out to them againe, and shewed what a shame it was that they should so act upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, and Prophane y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath, (to endeavour to Justifie themselves), contrary to y<sup>e</sup> rule, Isa. lviii. 13, yet could scarcely restraîne them from this disorderly Acting. And then they went forth.

Whereupon, after y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper was ended, y<sup>e</sup> Church sent an Admonition to y<sup>e</sup> said Hen. Fieldust, by their Joynt Order unto two Brethren, namely, Br. King and Br. Gwilliam, to admonish Br. Henry Fieldust, 1. Of suffering passion to reigne in him. 2. That hee should thus openly disturb y<sup>e</sup> whole Multitude, and y<sup>e</sup> Church, just att their going to breake bread. 3. That upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, soe publicly breake the Sabbath, and be soe bad an Example. 4. That hee should not only speake to y<sup>e</sup> people without leave of y<sup>e</sup> Elders, but that when bid by our Pastour, (y<sup>e</sup> chiefe of y<sup>e</sup> Elders of y<sup>e</sup> Church), he did not cease to dishonour y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and grieve his people.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 4th day of y<sup>e</sup> 10th Mo, 1677, being our Monthly day of Prayer, Att y<sup>e</sup> close of y<sup>e</sup> day, these three things were considered :—

1. Y<sup>e</sup> answer of y<sup>e</sup> Messengers, as above said, sent to admonish Br. Fieldust. But Bro. King not being att y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, y<sup>e</sup> answer could not bee had; because Br. Fieldust, at their First speaking

to him, desired hee might give his answer to Bro. King another time.

2. It was by y<sup>e</sup> Pastour demanded of y<sup>e</sup> Church, especially of y<sup>e</sup> members that lived near to Tho. Jacob (a member under dealing by y<sup>e</sup> Church, their first admonition) what reformation they had observed in him since? *Ans.* They had not seen nor heard that hee was Guilty of drinking too much, *Except once*, since.

3. *Whereas* Br. Jeremy Courtney alsoe had been formerly Guilty of y<sup>e</sup> sin of drunkenness, observed by some of y<sup>e</sup> Members, and by such alone hee had been dealt with severall tymes, and by others after they had taken with them, to admonish him by y<sup>e</sup> Witnessing admonition, endeavouring to reclaim him from Excesse in drinking, and had hoped severall tymes he was made soe sensible of his Evill that he would be Guilty noe more; But seeing he was about a Month since overtaken againe, they *now* bring his Evill before y<sup>e</sup> Church, that y<sup>e</sup> church should proceed to deale with him, by giving him an Admonition from y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, that they might shut him up from y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper, and see if that would cure him. And if that another Admonition from them did cure him, then it was not such a Leprosy that would cause them to cast him out of y<sup>e</sup> Church, the *Camp*, Lev. xiii.

*But whereas* hee had been Guilty severall tymes, some considerable time before, some did reflect privately That one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders was partial in that matter. Hee declared before y<sup>e</sup> church that it was not partiality in him, if hee knew his heart, that he had not brought his Evil before y<sup>e</sup> Church sooner; but that y<sup>e</sup> said Br. Courtney deceived him severall tymes by such good words and *savoury Expressions*, (when privately admonished of his Evill,) and that one would have thought hee was very sensible, Hee using in seriousness such words as these; att one time hee said, *If ever I am guilty* againe of *Excesse in drinking* lett mee bee as Jonah, cast out of y<sup>e</sup> ship;—and yet fell againe, and being againe dealt with for it, seemed to have such abhorring, that hee said hee would not sell his Birthright for a messe of Pottage. And now againe, after this last fall, when six brethren went of themselves together to deale with him for his sinne, hee gave very good words, and condemned his evill and himselfe. But now they would take his word noe more, but looke for fruite, (*viz.*) reformation; and soe brought his Evill before y<sup>e</sup> Church. But hee being since fallen very sick, y<sup>e</sup> Elders, with y<sup>e</sup> Church, thought not meet to send att that tyme y<sup>e</sup> Church-admonition to him.

Thus stand those 3 members, Br. Jacob, B. Fieldust, B. Courtney.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 13th of y<sup>e</sup> 11th Mo, 1677, being Lord's day, and our day of Breaking bread, Br. Lingwood, (by our Pastour), desired Communion with y<sup>e</sup> Church, that hee might bee permitted, and received into his place againe: who, near 3 years since, for some indiscreet words had been withdrawne from y<sup>e</sup> church. Hee spake of and against y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of Bristoll. Hee was by authority cast



into prison, and lay there about — weekes. And thereby, for his soe impudent behaviour, y<sup>e</sup> Church would not owne him, nor come neare him in his suffering, because hee suffered as an Evill-doer;—for we are commanded to speak Evill of noe man,—and by that, through his meanes, y<sup>e</sup> wayes of y<sup>e</sup> Lord were Evill spoken of.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 12th day of y<sup>e</sup> 12th Mo., 1677, being a day of prayer, y<sup>e</sup> Church proceeded to deale with those 3 members, after one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elders had read y<sup>e</sup> 13th chap. of Leviticus, and expounded divers parts thereof: shewing that Chap. was a rule, shewing y<sup>e</sup> Method how a Church should proceed to deale with offending Members, the Order of discipline laid downe under y<sup>e</sup> Type of Dealing with Leprous bodyes under y<sup>e</sup> Law, which signified y<sup>e</sup> sinne of y<sup>e</sup> soule under y<sup>e</sup> Gospell; and shewing, for some sinns, they must be cast out personally; that is, pronounced uncleane att first, as 3d verse; 1. Shewing that flesh did signify y<sup>e</sup> body of sinne in Believers; as Rom. vii. 5, and Rom. viii. 8, 5, 10, and Gal. v. 16, 17. 2. That by Skinn was meant y<sup>e</sup> Infirmitie of y<sup>e</sup> Flesh; that is, as James iii. 2, wee have all common infirmities, and all Believers are covered therewith. 3. That y<sup>e</sup> haire in y<sup>e</sup> plague turned white signifies decay of Grace in y<sup>e</sup> soule, and decays of their duties in y<sup>e</sup> Church, or in their families, as grey haire signifies decay of nature in y<sup>e</sup> body, as Lev. xiii. 3.

Now if there bee a thing cleare and plaine (that is, y<sup>e</sup> rising, or bright spot, in Lev. xiii. 2), seen to be Evill in any man or woman in y<sup>e</sup> Church, then it must be examined whether it be deeper than y<sup>e</sup> skin, that is, than y<sup>e</sup> common Infirmitie of Believers. And if y<sup>e</sup> haire be turned white, y<sup>e</sup> party begins alsoe to decay, and leave off his Christian duties. Then, if his Evills bee such (as Lev. xiii. 3), when he is brought before y<sup>e</sup> Church, y<sup>e</sup> Minister is to pronounce him uncleane, that is, cast him out of y<sup>e</sup> Church, y<sup>e</sup> Camp, as 46th verse; 1 Tim. v. 20; that is, presently, for some grosse sinns.

But if y<sup>e</sup> sinn y<sup>e</sup> Member be accused of bee but a common infirmity, and not deeper, though that have risen high, and that it is a riseing more than is common, and it bee a bright spott, and if y<sup>e</sup> haire not turned white, his duty bee not decayed, then such a person is to bee shutt up; that is, to be admonished, and withdrawn from seven Lord's dayes, or 7 times of breaking bread. Then on y<sup>e</sup> 7th Lord's day following, or 7th time of breaking bread, such person is to bee looked upon, that is, admonished againe; and if his sinne bee att a stay, and spread not in his infirmity or skinne, then he is to be admonished againe to repent, and so shutt up, that is withdrawn from, 7 Lord's days more. Then on y<sup>e</sup> 7th Lord's day, or 7th time of breaking bread, y<sup>e</sup> Church is to looke upon him againe; and if y<sup>e</sup> person manifest repentance, that y<sup>e</sup> sinne or riseing bee somewhat darke, not to bee seen, and that y<sup>e</sup> sinne spread not in y<sup>e</sup> infirmity, the skinne,

then y<sup>e</sup> Church is to pronounce him cleane, that is, to receive him, that is, to admitt him to breake bread, and to have Communion as formerly; as Lev. xiii. 6. But if y<sup>e</sup> scab or sinne spread in his infirmity, the Pastour is to pronounce him uncleane, (that is) cast him out of the Church, as Lev. xiii. 8, compared with 46 verse.

Soe upon y<sup>e</sup> said twelfth day of y<sup>e</sup> 12th Mo, 1677, y<sup>e</sup> Church upon Mr. Lingwood's Motion to Joyne again with y<sup>e</sup> church, and to return to his place as a member, y<sup>e</sup> Church on y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day before sent a brother to him, to Order him to come to y<sup>e</sup> Churches meeting on this day of prayer. And now being come, y<sup>e</sup> Church, in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, Demands of him, by y<sup>e</sup> Pastour, what is y<sup>e</sup> reason he left y<sup>e</sup> Church now these 2 years, and his duty, and place? Hee answered, hee had not left his place, but that Evill he fell into of talking against y<sup>e</sup> Bishop, and soe putt in prison, and suffered as an Evill-doer, y<sup>e</sup> trouble of it lay upon him. 2ndly. Our pastour laid to his charge his compliance with y<sup>e</sup> Bishop of promising to go to y<sup>e</sup> Colledge<sup>58</sup> to gett out of prison; and after that, hee did go twice. Hee said hee was sorry for what hee had done, but would not doe soe againe. 3rdly. The Church, by one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elders, taxed him for his Timorousness still, and did fear if hee was received hee would decline y<sup>e</sup> Church and his duty againe, if any trouble did arise, as persecution; because hee was very shy now of any professor or member of y<sup>e</sup> Church, if some of y<sup>e</sup> officers of y<sup>e</sup> Customes<sup>59</sup> (of which hee was one) should be near him. 4thly. The Church dealt with him for y<sup>e</sup> sinne of Drunkenness, the roote-sinne that brought all that trouble upon him; for it was att an Ale-house he spake those words laid against him, That hee would dash out y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's teeth, or could find in his heart to doe it, or to that Effect, which hee did not remember he spake; and that hee had been seen overcome with Liquor since that, and but lately. But that hee had been lately overtaken, he seemed to deny. Therefore y<sup>e</sup> Church, by y<sup>e</sup> Pastour, pronounced y<sup>e</sup> sentence of withdrawing from him, and to Admonish him to repent of his Evills; which, because of y<sup>e</sup> troubles then upon our Meetings, and his not coming neare us, wee had not soe convenient an opportunity till now hee desired to come in againe. For by his departing from us hee did, as it were, Excommunicate himselfe; which was y<sup>e</sup> Worst Excommunication (as Self-Murther is y<sup>e</sup> highest Murther). Soe hee Judged himself not worthy of a place in Christ's Church, nor of a parte in y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper, as y<sup>e</sup> Apostle saith, Acts xiii. 46.

2ndly. THEN Br. Jeremy Courtnay was dealt with for drunkenness, alsoe being now present. Hee hoped y<sup>e</sup> Lord would keepe him, hee should fall into that sinn noe more. Yett because hee had soe often given good words and failed, y<sup>e</sup> Church would trust

<sup>58</sup> Colledge, i.e., the parish church on College Green.

<sup>59</sup> Customs, i.e., the customs and excise authorities of the Port of Bristol.

him noe more, but waite to see some fruite; and Therefore pronounced, by one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elders, y<sup>e</sup> sentence of withdrawing from him alsoe.

3rdly. Br. Hen. Fieldust, that y<sup>e</sup> Church had sent an Admonition to formerly for his passion and disorderly speaking in y<sup>e</sup> Church, hee declared hee was sorry hee had soe done; Therefore y<sup>e</sup> Church ordered him to withdraw y<sup>e</sup> Roome for a little while, and finding all to accept of his Repentance, was called in againe, and declared hee was received into y<sup>e</sup> Church againe.

UPON the 17th day, 12th Mo. Mrs. Parsons by Clifton, was propounded at Breaking bread.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 20th Feb. or 12th Mo. Anno 1677, our aged Bro. Robert Simpson, departed this lyfe, in y<sup>e</sup> 85th yeare of his age, was Interred in Philip's yard, by his wyfe and daughter, at y<sup>e</sup> back doore of y<sup>e</sup> Meeting-house there, called y<sup>e</sup> Church. Hee could read y<sup>e</sup> smallest printed Bibles without spectacles. A weeke before hee died, hee said, as hee laid upon his bed, in y<sup>e</sup> day time, he told Br. Rieves, y<sup>e</sup> Lord had been preaching to him better than 100 sermons. Br. Rieves asked him what it was. Hee said, hee had been meditating (as hee lay a little upon his Couch in y<sup>e</sup> day-time), about y<sup>e</sup> Israelite's Servant, in Exod. xxi. 5, 6, that had served his master 6 yeares. Hee was to goe free y<sup>e</sup> 7th yeare; but if hee said hee loved his master, &c., that hee will not go out free, Then his ear was to be bored to y<sup>e</sup> Door-post with an Awle, and hee should serve him for ever. Now, said Br. Simpson, I have served Christ soe long, and I love my Master still; and if I were to live 100 yeares more I would not leave my Master, and upon the resolution (my thoughts) y<sup>e</sup> Lord came in upon my soule, and said, *I should bee his servant for ever.*

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 27th of y<sup>e</sup> 12th Mo. 1677, S. Browne, the widdow, departed this lyfe, and left 10 children, 6 sons and 4 daughters. Shee was interred by her husband in *John's Ground*.

UPON the first day of y<sup>e</sup> 1st Mo. 1677, our Sister Eliz. Smyth y<sup>e</sup> younger, in Broadmeade, departed this life, interred in James's yard. Her race was soon run, it being not two yeares since shee was added a Member to this Church.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 5th day of y<sup>e</sup> first Mo, 1677, being our Monthly day of Prayer (viz. y<sup>e</sup> first Tuesday in Every Month), Mrs. Parsons made Declaration of the worke of God upon her soule, how shee came to be changed and to close with Christ; and y<sup>e</sup> Church received satisfaction to admitt her y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day. S. Parsons was baptized y<sup>e</sup> 8th of ditto month, and added to y<sup>e</sup> Church upon y<sup>e</sup> 10th day of this instant Month of Feb.

UPON this said 5th day of y<sup>e</sup> first Month, 1677, *Thomas Jacob*, that before was a Member of this Congregation, and had been under dealing by y<sup>e</sup> Church, for Drunkenness, and neglect of his duty in y<sup>e</sup> Congregation in attending in his place, Lord's dayes and dayes of prayer, frequently absent, and for which he was

admonished by y<sup>e</sup> Congregation y<sup>e</sup> sixth day of y<sup>e</sup> last Month; and y<sup>e</sup> Church having waited now a whole yeare, Expecting Reformation, instead thereof, there came, late, sad tidings to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, That said Thomas Jacob, about 10 dayes since, was much in Drinke, and very rude, fighting in y<sup>e</sup> Street, and that hee had given his wyfe some blows, and said hee would be revenged on a Man that it seems hee owed a grudge to, and would not be perswaded to stay in his house when Br. Willis intreated him. For this open sinning y<sup>e</sup> said Thomas Jacob was withdrawne from by y<sup>e</sup> Church, and soe cast out, and y<sup>e</sup> sentence pronounced before y<sup>e</sup> whole Church by our Pastour, That wee withdraw from y<sup>e</sup> said Thomas Jacob, and that from henceforward hee was noe member of this Church, nor to partake of y<sup>e</sup> Communion, nor priviledges thereof. (And Thomas Jacob was present.)

Anno 1678. UPON y<sup>e</sup> 6th day of y<sup>e</sup> 2d Mo. 1678, there were 3 Brethren came down from London, (from y<sup>e</sup> Church that Mr. Jessey, deceased, was formerly their pastour), to get our pastour Br. Hardcastle from us; clayming their right in him as a Member with them, as they would have it, although hee had walked with us now neare 7 yeares.

*Y<sup>e</sup> state of our case lay thus, After our pastour, dear Bro. Ewins, deceased, wee hearkened for another Minister of our perswasion that was a learned man in y<sup>e</sup> Originall,<sup>60</sup> and that was not engaged in office in any Church; and Br. Terrill sending to that worthy and eminent Servant of God, Mr. Vavazor Powell, then in London, to desire him to Consider of a Man fitt to bee pastour of this Congregation, to succeed Br. Ewins, and telling him we heard of one Mr. Hardcastle, a Member of Mr. Jessey's Congregation, to ask his advice if hee were not already engaged, to know whether he did judge him to be a Man fittly qualified for us. Which said Br Vavazor Powell answered, Mr. Hardcastle would bee a fitt man for us, if wee could gett him; and hee was not settled there, only upon Tryall for Eldership.*

*Wee. being by him and others certainly informed Mr. Hardcastle was not otherwise engaged, But only upon Tryall, this Church sent a letter to him, and tendered him a Call alsoe to come to us, leaving it with and before him whether hee would accept of theire Call, or accept of ours; and wee argued, hee would bee of more use here in this parte of y<sup>e</sup> Land, where there were soe few learned men of our perswasion, than hee would bee in London, where there were soe many learned men. Then it happened, before hee concluded which to accept of, hee was cast into prison there, in London, (upon y<sup>e</sup> Conventicle Act for preaching), for 6 Months; during which tyme this Congregation and that in London did, by letters, Argue where hee would bee most useful. And, after divers letters from each to other, they in London offered to refer it to other Ministering Elders; To which wee agreed, and pitched*

<sup>60</sup> Originall, i.e., the original languages of the Bible, Greek and Hebrew.

upon 6 Ministering Brethren in London, and desired them to name 6 more, and wee would stand to what they should determine, and Judge betwixt us in that matter. Which they did not, although it was their owne motion.

And when wee had waited long for an answer of this, wee had none; till at last wee heard Mr. Hardcastle was coming downe to visit us for a Month. And when hee was here, before hee went away, (upon y<sup>e</sup> 29th day of y<sup>e</sup> 3d Month, 1671), wee gave him a *Call* in writing, with every Member of y<sup>e</sup> Churches hand, written by every one that could write, and ordered to bee written by them that could not. To which hee would then give us noe promise of coming to us againe, But said, hee would consider of it; because, as wee understand since, hee had not given them a denyall in London. But when he came to London, hee did, after some tyme; seeing they did not agree together, and sett him aparte then neither, nor fasten him, Although they heard what wee had done.

*Whereupon* Br. Hardcastle came downe to us againe, about two Mo. after. But y<sup>e</sup> Church in London was very Angry with us for giving him a *Call*, And therefore, when hee came to us y<sup>e</sup> second tyme, we gave him a New *Call* on Tryall to bee our Pastour to this Church, (upon y<sup>e</sup> 8th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo. 1671), after he had given them in London a denyall. Att which they were more offended with us, when it was their owne fault that they had not come to a Conclusion among themselves, and settled him to bee their *Pastour*. Haveing been soe long with them upon tryal as hee was before wee sent to him,—a yeare, if not two yeares,—and then hee was 9 Months with them after wee had sent to him to desire that hee would come to us; and yet, Notwithstanding, they had not come to a Conclusion to Ordaine him pastour, but hee only stood upon Tryall still.

And againe, they miss a third opportunity after hee had been with us to visitt us and was returned to them againe, That they had not then closed, and fastened him by giving up themselves to him, and getting him to doe soe to them, and to have concluded to have Ordained him to be their pastour by laying on of hands; Then we would not have looked after him, noe more than after any other Minister that was settled over any Church. But seeing hee was only upon Tryall, wee claymed a Church-right to give an invitation to a gift in any Church to come to take office with us under Christ, if hee were not in office there, (if that hee were minded and willing to come to us.) For y<sup>e</sup> *Call* of a person to office in a Church bears y<sup>e</sup> similitude of marriage; and it was Lawfull for us to make an offer, to bee a *Suitour* to him as well as they, and it was alsoe Lawfull for Mr. Hardcastle to accept of which hee would; because y<sup>e</sup> Command of God was soe, that y<sup>e</sup> daughters of Zelophehad should marry to whome they thought best, only to y<sup>e</sup> family of y<sup>e</sup> Tribe of their fathers, Numb. xxxvi. 6. And surely wee are of y<sup>e</sup> same tribe, *Baptists*, as they;

and if hee had been married to them, wee would not have sought to him. Yet, notwithstanding wee soe fairely proceeded according to Rule, and they neglected their duty, yet they were offended, and sent an Angry Epistle to us, charging us with sinne in Calling Br. Hardcastle; But showed us no Rule that we had broken. Therefore wee had peace, haveing done but our duty, although they had omitted theirs.

*And Br. Hardcastle* had a letter att that tyme, signed with Ten Ministers' hands to it in London, (that understood our Call), Pastours of Churches, whereof Dr. Owen was one, in commending of him to us. But, for order's sake, we sought to that Church from whence Mr. Hardcastle came, (viz. Mr. Jessey's people), that they would give Mr. Hardcastle a Letter of Dismission from them to us, (because hee was a Member of that Church when hee came to us); But they would not grant it. Wee waited till they had Chosen one Mr. Fitten to be their pastour, and then wee sought againe; yet they would not graunt a Letter of Dismission. And thus haveing waited neare three yeares, and could not obtaine it, wee came to Conclude our Call to Br. Hardcastle upon Tryall. *And soe*, upon y<sup>e</sup> 19th of y<sup>e</sup> 3rd Mo. 1674, being a day of prayer, y<sup>e</sup> Congregation having had soe long tyme of Tryall of Bro. Hardcastle's Gifts and graces, they now choose him to be their Pastour, and declare it by lifting up their hands to y<sup>e</sup> Lord; *which being Unanimously done*, Br. Hardcastle declared his acceptance of y<sup>e</sup> place. Thus y<sup>e</sup> business of Election was terminated, finished, and done, and y<sup>e</sup> church declared their readiness to Ordaine him when hee would. And upon y<sup>e</sup> 28th October, 1676, they seeing an opportunity moved it to him, but y<sup>e</sup> Brethren from London came not to the City as thought. But y<sup>e</sup> laying on of hands being not essentiall to y<sup>e</sup> Election, but y<sup>e</sup> Church's *Unanimous Choice* of him and his acceptance declared being done, that gives the being of y<sup>e</sup> office, and tyes each to other. Ordination, by laying on of hands, for Order, may bee done att convenience.

But now this Church in London haveing buried Mr. Fitten comes, and would faine have our pastour that we have enjoyed neare seaven years. And although they married another since, and buried him alsoe, thought to gett Mr. Hardcastle back, and soe sent 3 brethren to us, but noe Letter; but *onely a certificate*, a copy of which *is as follows* for 2,

*These are to certifie y<sup>e</sup> Congregation at Bristoll*, that y<sup>e</sup> bearers hereof, namely, John Mason and Christopher Booth, are Messengers appointed by y<sup>e</sup> Church att London, of which Mr. Thomas Hardcastle is a Member, and chosen an Elder, to inquire of you the reasons of your withholding Mr. Thomas Hardcastle from them as they are informed, being neither a Member nor Minister regularly called amongst you, and y<sup>e</sup> Church att London standing in great

Signed att London, y<sup>e</sup> 31st  
of y<sup>e</sup> 1st Mo. 1678. } WM. NUTTALL,  
JOHN BUCKMASTER, } *Deacons.*

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 7th day of y<sup>e</sup> 3rd Mo 1678, Br. Jeremy Courtnay was againe y<sup>e</sup> 2nd time, admonished by our pastour, in y<sup>e</sup> presence of y<sup>e</sup> Church, to repent of his Evill and sinne of drunkenness. Our pastour said, hee had reference to y<sup>e</sup> sinne of leprosie, Lev. xiii.. That after seven dayes y<sup>e</sup> Priest was to looke Upon y<sup>e</sup> leper againe which shewed a certaine and due convenient space of tyme that y<sup>e</sup> sick person must be looked after, as well as Physick given to them. Therefore hee sent for y<sup>e</sup> said Br. Courtnay y<sup>e</sup> last Week, and laid his sinne before him; and since that, received a Letter from Br. Courtnay confessing his Evill, and finding y<sup>e</sup> deceit of his heart and hardnesse, that hee saw where strength and help was, but did not know how to come att it. Hee seemed as one in a sight and view of his sinne, but not come up to a thorough *Resolution* against it, yet seemed in his conscience not to like it. Therefore one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders, (after y<sup>e</sup> pastour had againe admonished him as aforesaid), Read unto y<sup>e</sup> said Br. Courtnay y<sup>e</sup> word of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, written Deuter. xxix, 18, 19, 20, 21, shewing that man or woman that shall add drunkennesse to thirst, and thinke in his heart hee shall have peace though hee so walk, that y<sup>e</sup> Lord will not spare that man; but all y<sup>e</sup> Curses in y<sup>e</sup> Scripture shall lie upon him, and blott out his name out of y<sup>e</sup> Church; and whereas God had once separated him to Good by bringing him into y<sup>e</sup> Church, now God would separate him to Evill, as saith y<sup>e</sup> Scripture. *Oh! sad state!*

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 19th day of y<sup>e</sup> 3rd Mo, 1678, our aged S. Wade, wyfe to Major Wade, departed this life, at y<sup>e</sup> Week in Arlingham, in

y<sup>e</sup> county of Gloucester; and was brought in a Coach, and buried with her Eldest son att St. Steven's, in this Citty, y<sup>e</sup> 22nd instant, att Midnight.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 19th day of y<sup>e</sup> 3rd Mo, 1678, y<sup>e</sup> pastour and brethren of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation y<sup>e</sup> Backsliding and declineing condition of Br. Jeremy Courtney, that stands under y<sup>e</sup> Churches second admonition for y<sup>e</sup> sinne of drunkennesse, and yett againe Guilty, and trespassing therein. Therefore, at y<sup>e</sup> motion of S. his wife, y<sup>e</sup> Brethren conclude to keepe a day of Solemn fasting and prayer for him in particular; if it might bee y<sup>e</sup> Lord would bee entreated to cast out y<sup>e</sup> *Drunken Divill* out of him, which did overcome him and carry him captive at his Will; and considering y<sup>e</sup> Lord saith, some kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.

And accordingly we kept a day of fasting and prayer att Br. Courtney's house, y<sup>e</sup> 21st day of 3d month, 1678. After one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders spoke to it, and a Brother prayed, our pastour, Br. Hardcastle, spake, to lay open his sinne and y<sup>e</sup> Evill thereof. Hee asked y<sup>e</sup> said Br. Courtney if hee were willing to part with his sinne? He answered, hee was willing, if hee knew his Heart. Then, after y<sup>e</sup> pastour and some other Brother prayed, one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders asked him, what Demonstration would hee give y<sup>e</sup> Brethren and Sisters of y<sup>e</sup> Church, that hee was heartily desirous and willing to leave his sinne. Then, after pretty much adoe (for hee would know of us what wee would have him oblige himself to, wee tould him, wee should not lay any bond upon him; But if hee were reall in his heart against his sinne, hee would take revenge upon himselfe, and clear himselfe, as 2 Cor. vii. 11; and having read unto him y<sup>e</sup> Case and practise of y<sup>e</sup> Rechabites, Jeremy xxxv. 2, &c.), att last he concluded and said, he would refraine and abstaine from Wine and Strong Liquors for a yeare. And then wee finished y<sup>e</sup> day with prayer for him.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 6th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo, 1678, being our Monthly day of prayer, in preparation for y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper, Mr. Wm. Kemp and Mrs. Codner, (haveing formerly, at severall tymes, to y<sup>e</sup> pastour and Elder, declared their desires to joyne,) were propounded to joyne to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation. And towards y<sup>e</sup> close of y<sup>e</sup> day of prayer, they gave a declaration, in y<sup>e</sup> midst of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, of y<sup>e</sup> work of God upon their soules; telling y<sup>e</sup> Church how they came to be changed, Repent, and believe. With which their severall declarations, after they were putt forth for a space, y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, considering what they had said, declared their satisfaction to receive them into their Communion as Members. Then they were called into y<sup>e</sup> roome, where y<sup>e</sup> Church was, and y<sup>e</sup> tyme appointed for *Baptizing* of them. And so they were Baptized upon y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of said 6th Mo. 1678. And upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day following, being y<sup>e</sup> 11th day of 6th Mo, just before Breaking bread, after y<sup>e</sup> Evening sermon, they were admitted into y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, and declared Members of this Church;—Br. Kemp and S. Codner.



UPON y<sup>e</sup> 3d day of y<sup>e</sup> 7th Mo. 1678, being our Monthly day of prayer, these two were proposed to joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, But did not then give in their Declaration of y<sup>e</sup> Worke of God upon their soules, (viz.), *Joseph Clarke of Honyton*, (in Devonshire, 9 miles from Lyme,) a young attorney; and — Bowen, wyfe of Lewis Bowen.

Alsoe Br. Jeremy Courtney, haveing some tyme before declared his desires, to y<sup>e</sup> pastour and one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders, to returne againe to his place in y<sup>e</sup> Church, was now alsoe proposed to y<sup>e</sup> Church, for their Consideration thereof, and watching over him against y<sup>e</sup> next day of prayer, That he should declare to y<sup>e</sup> Church how y<sup>e</sup> Lord turned him to leave his sinn of Drunkenness.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 29th day of y<sup>e</sup> 7th Month, 1678, about three of y<sup>e</sup> Clock in y<sup>e</sup> morning, being y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath Day, our pastour, Br Tho. Hardcastle, *Departed* this lyfe. His death was very suddain, for hee seemed to have been as well when hee went to Bed as hee usually was at other tymes. Butt hee went to Bed a little after Ten at night, and slept till about one. Then wakeing, complained to his wyfe, in Bed with him, of a great paine that tooke him about y<sup>e</sup> Shoulders, in his back, and Breast; and said, hee supposed hee had taken some greate Cold. His paine continued, with Motions to reach and vomitt, (with which hee was often troubled in y<sup>e</sup> night), that his Servant Maid, in y<sup>e</sup> next roome, heareing him, thought it butt that which was usuall. He arose and putt on his doublett, and went to Stoole, and came into Bed againe. His paine increased very Violent, that made him groane aloud. Y<sup>e</sup> Maid arose; But before 3 y<sup>e</sup> Rattles came upon him, and soe died. In this great agony, his wyfe, bigg with child, was much affrighted. Hee laboured to comfort her, saying, hee hoped it would goe off againe; For, said he, I had such a fitt tooke mee in my journey, but it pleased y<sup>e</sup> Lord it went off againe. But this fitt did not. For hee had been a great Journey, as far as West Chester, occasioned by a letter from his wyfe's brother; and hee came home butt two dayes before.

Hee was a Man, as it were a Champion for y<sup>e</sup> Lord, very Courageous in his work and sufferings. His Zeal provoked many. Before he came to Bristoll, after he had thrown off conformity, He suffered about 8 Mo. imprisonment in Yorke Castle; and then, because hee would not give bond to preach noe more, as some ministers his fellow prisoners did to gett free, hee was carryed thence, out of his country, 80 miles to Chester Castle, and there hee was kept 15 Months more close prisoner; and then, by an Order from y<sup>e</sup> King, he was released without bonds. And hee came to London, and there Hee was Baptized; after that was taken up for preaching, and by y<sup>e</sup> Conventicle Act was 6 Mo. prisoner in London; and then being called by this Church to be their pastour, for y<sup>e</sup> defence of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, was twice imprisoned in Bristoll, two 6 Mo: still preaching as soon as ever hee came forth, and soe

continued till his death, haveing been our Pastour about 7 yeares and a quarter. Hee was seaven tymes imprisoned, for Christ and a good conscience, after he left off conformity.

It is observable, this last summer God's providence led him to London, and tooke leave of his friends there; and now was, by y<sup>e</sup> same providence, led to Chester, and tooke his leave of his friends there, where hee had suffered; and in mercy brought home to die in his bed, (though suddain), where was his worke, and had last suffered here for y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 15th day of 8ber, y<sup>e</sup> Church kept a day of Humiliation for y<sup>e</sup> death of their pastour; and concluded to keepe y<sup>e</sup> dwelling-house for another.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> fifth day of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Mo, our Monthly day of prayer, there was a young man, namely, Mr. James Lewis, proposed to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, very desirous for Communion; But being but lately wrought upon, they putt him to waite some tyme before they would take an accompt of him, how hee came to be changed, or borne againe, and believe.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 6th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Mo. 1678, S. Hardcastle had speedy deliverance of a sonne, borne as an answer of prayer.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 12th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Mo, 1678, there was carried in to S. Hardcastle, y<sup>e</sup> widdow of our late deceased pastour, by Br. Ekeley, Br. Hunt, Br. Gwilliam, and Br. Terrill, £150, as a Gift from y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, and some few friends that were hearers, towards her and her children's Relief, after her husband's decease.

Y<sup>e</sup> manner how it was raised was thus. Y<sup>e</sup> same day as our pastour was buried, Br. Ekeley and Br. Terrill advized together, that some two Brethren did goe to all y<sup>e</sup> Congregation that was any way able, and to some of y<sup>e</sup> Hearers, and aske them what they would subscribe, and give freely, as a Token of their love to our pastour now buried, his wife, and children. Which Br. Ekeley and Br. Hunt voluntarily undertooke to goe about presently, whiles persons' Bowells were warme. And they did gett these persons following to subscribe, and some weekes after received of them as follows:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Br. Edw. Terrill sub-				Br. Robertson	-	03	0 0
scribed - - - -	20	0	0	Broth. John Forde	-	04	0 0
Br. Edw. Elkeley -	05	0	0	Sister Brookes -	-	04	0 0
Br. Sam. Hunt - -	05	0	0	Sr. Hill widdow -	-	03	0 0
Br. Benj. Warren -	03	0	0	Mr. White - - -	-	02	0 0
Br. Dan. Gwilliam -	07	0	0	Mr. Tyler - - -	-	02	0 0
Br. Rob. Bodenham -	05	0	0	S. Shuter y <sup>e</sup> Elder -	-	02	0 0
Br. King - - - -	05	0	0	S. Spurgin - - -	-	02	0 0
Br. Hen. Davies - -	03	0	0	S. Kimbar - - -	-	01	0 0
Br. John Fry - - -	05	0	0	Mr. Rich. Williams -	-	01	0 0
Mr. John Graunt -	07	0	0	S. Rose Teague - -	-	01	0 0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Br. Jeremy Courtney	02	10	0	S. Saunders - - -	03	0	0
Sister Phelpes, wid.	03	0	0	Mr. Wike, junior -	02	0	0
Br. Purnell - - -	05	0	0	Br. Dennis - - -	01	10	0
Br. Nath. Snead - -	05	0	0	Mr. John Shuter -	01	0	0
Mr. Sam. Clarke - -	10	0	0	Mr. Wasbrow - - -	03	0	0
Mrs. Clarke his				Mr. Mosely, Brasier	01	0	0
mother - - - -	10	0	0	S. Dawson - - - -	02	0	0
Sister Lux - - - -	03	0	0	Br. Cornish - - -	01	0	0
Capt. Tho. Listun -	05	0	0	Br. Dickason - - -	02	0	0

Total 150*l*. Ye praise be to ye Lord, who stirred up ye hearts of his people soe willingly to give, to ye Glory of his name, and for ye better supporte of ye widdow and fatherless. (But of ye Lord's owne we gave him.)

Att ye funerall of said Br. Hardcastle wee gave noe Wyne, but some bread to ye poore, Gloves and Hatt-bands to ye 6 ministers that went by ye Hearse; yet it amounted well towards thirty pounds, all charge paid, with putting his widdow and children in Mourning Apparel, and putting a Tombstone over his Grave. All which Cost ye Church was att.

£	s.	d.	UPON ye 3d of ye 10th Mo, 1678, ye
S. Wmson . . .	1	0	0 aforesaid two young Lawyers, namely,
Mr. Roster . .	1	0	0 Joseph Clarke and Mr. James Lewis,
B. Morgan . .	0	10	0 that were before proposed to Joyne with
S. Hughes . .	0	10	0 ye Church, this day being our Monthly
B. Hall . . .	0	10	0 day for Prayer, (in ye Midst of ye Con-
S. Ellis . . .	0	5	0 gregation), they gave a declaration of ye

Worke of God upon their soules, how they came to be borne againe, and to Close with Christ. After they were withdrawne into another roome, ye Church considered of what they had delivered as their Experiences; but would not receive them presently, but deferred it till ye Churches next meeting.

Upon ye 13th day of 10 Mo, 1678, ye said Joseph Clarke and James Lewis were baptized in ye River Froome.

UPON ye 17th day of ye 10th Mo. 1678, ye said Joseph Clarke and James Lewis were, att a day of prayer, admitted Members of this Congregation, (although wee had no pastour), by our Two Ruling Elders laying before them, in ye presence of ye Church, their duties to God, ye Church, and ye World.

Alsoe, upon this said day, ye Church tooke it into Consideration about getting a pastour. Severall were discoursed of, as Mr. Ralphson, Mr. Founds of London. But they concluded to send a letter to Mr. Robert Browne of Worcester, who formerly, near 8 years since, after ye death of our pastour Mr. Ewins, in the interim of our endeavours to gett Mr. Hardcastle, and fearing that we should not gett said Br. Hardcastle, wee then sent a Conditional Call to said Mr. Browne, (then at London); viz. that in case Mr.

Hardcastle could not come to us upon y<sup>e</sup> Call or Invitation before sent him, Then we did call Mr. Browne. But Mr. Hardcastle came, and soe wee had not Mr. Browne. And now hearing by severall that said Mr. Browne was not yet engaged to any Church as theire officer, this day we ordered a letter to be sent to Mr. Browne, as foll., judging it most Orderly to begin where wee left off.

*From a Church of Christ in Bristol To*

*Honoured Mr. Browne,*

Wee have been for some tyme againe under y<sup>e</sup> Chastisement of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, in his taking away our late pastour, Br. Hardcastle. And therefore, for some Months, it hath been a tyme of Widdowhood and Mourning with us. And oh, that y<sup>e</sup> Lord would say y<sup>e</sup> tyme of our Mourning was over; for now we begin to consider, and looke after y<sup>e</sup> supply of that our Losse. And being told by some that you are not as yet engaged to any Church as settled in Office among them, *Which*, if it bee soe, wee shall looke upon it as a greate Mercy, there is a doore open for us *To renew* our former Call to you, that wee intended to have fastened upon you, if wee had not been prevented by y<sup>e</sup> Anticipation of that Providence that was then in Agitation before wee knew you. Wherefore, Deare Sr, wee doe by these intreate you to send us word, whether you are att liberty in that Case, or not. *And* if you are soe att liberty and free, that you would bee pleased to come to us as soon as conveniently you can. *Thus* expecting a few lines from you, in answer hereunto, by y<sup>e</sup> first opportunity, We commend you to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, waiteing upon our greate Shepherd, y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus, to make provision for us, and soe remaine,

Your Brethren in y<sup>e</sup> Fellowship and Order of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell,

By us signed, by Order of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, in behalf of y<sup>e</sup> rest,

Y<sup>e</sup> 17th day    Edw Terill,  
10 Mo. 1678.   Daniel Gwilliam,  
                     Wm Dickason,  
                     James Bland,  
                     Wm Evans,

Nathanial Snead,  
Richard Towne,  
John Purnell,  
Rob Bodenham,  
Jo. Forde.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 5th of 10th Month, 1678, Mr. Tyler and his wyfe, living att Bedminster, were proposed to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, it being on a Lord's day, in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, when y<sup>e</sup> Church stayed after y<sup>e</sup> Evening sermon.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 21st day of y<sup>e</sup> 11th Month, 1678, said Mr. Tyler and his wyfe gave theire declaration, how y<sup>e</sup> Lord wrought upon them to turne them from darkness to light. They, as all others, spake before y<sup>e</sup> Congregation assembled on a day of prayer. They being an Elderly Couple that had been hearers with us about a dozen

yeares, and soe suffered with us in y<sup>e</sup> troubles of those times, y<sup>e</sup> Church tooke y<sup>e</sup> more satisfaction to receive them.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 4th day of y<sup>e</sup> 12th Mo. 1678, Br. Tyler and his wyfe were declared Members of this Congregation, by one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elders, att our day of Prayer; y<sup>e</sup> Church haveing noe pastour at present on Earth, but their great Shepherd y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus Christ in Heaven.

*Alsoe*, this same 4th day of 12th Month, 1678, these 3 persons were proposed to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation; (viz), A young man, named John Cornish; an Ancient maide, namely, Jane Daniel; and a young Gentlewoman, namely, Mrs. Cæcily Lewis. They desired to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Church.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 18th day of y<sup>e</sup> 12th Mo, 1678, being a day of prayer, Mrs. Martha Ridley was propounded to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation; and because shee formerly desired to bee proposed, near a yeare since to one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders who deferred her, or putt her off for Tryall, and now shee againe desiring it, was this day proposed; and because three others were to bee spoken with, shee was permitted to give her declaration with them.

*And* so these 4 (John Cornish, Mrs. Cæcily Lewis, Jane Daniel, Mrs. Martha Ridly,) gave, one after another, an accmpt before y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, by what meanes y<sup>e</sup> Lord wrought upon them; *When* and how they came to be changed or converted, and to see their lost state by Nature, and their Closeing with Christ. Which when they had done, they were desired all 4 to withdraw out of y<sup>e</sup> Roome. And then y<sup>e</sup> Church together considered what they had said, and were all satisfied to receive them all; which, after debate about each, y<sup>e</sup> Church declared theire consent by theire silence. And then these 4 were called in, and tould by one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elders, that y<sup>e</sup> Church, in y<sup>e</sup> Judgment of Charity, was satisfied with theire Declarations, hopeing they were sincere, and should now next enquire into theire Conversations. And soe y<sup>e</sup> Church, therefore, deferred y<sup>e</sup> receiving of them as Members untill y<sup>e</sup> next day of prayer, and soe told them then they would heare further from y<sup>e</sup> Church.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 28th day of 12th Mo. 1678-9, these 3 persons were Baptized in y<sup>e</sup> River Froome, by our Bro. Jennings, he that used to Administer that Ordinance of Baptisme to this Congregation, being a Member with us, and was above 20 years since sent forth a Minister, by y<sup>e</sup> Church in Gloucester; who did, all y<sup>e</sup> time of our late pastor Br. Hardcastle, Administer that Ordinance; who the Lord in Mercy spared to us, and was serviceable upon all occasions, after y<sup>e</sup> losse of two pastours. *Soe* that y<sup>e</sup> Worke of y<sup>e</sup> Lord is carryed on among us; Only wee doe not breake bread untill wee have a pastour. Y<sup>e</sup> persons now passed under y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance, were John Cornish, Mrs. Cæcily Lewis, Mrs. Martha Ridley, Baptized.

*Anno* 1678-9. UPON y<sup>e</sup> 4th day of y<sup>e</sup> first Mo., 1678-9, those

three persons were admitted; viz., *Br. John Cornish, S. Cæcily Lewis, and S. Martha Ridley*, att a day of prayer were added Members of this Church, by one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elders. Y<sup>e</sup> other person that was propounded, and spoken with by y<sup>e</sup> Church, (viz.) *Jane Daniel*, being not at this day of prayer, and some other reason, was omitted.

*And* this said day y<sup>e</sup> Church chose 4 sisters of y<sup>e</sup> Church that were widdows, Each of above 60 yeares of age, to be Deaconesses for y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, to looke after y<sup>e</sup> Sick Sisters; namely, S. Smith, y<sup>e</sup> elder; S. Spurgeon; S. Webb, y<sup>e</sup> elder; S. Walton; Deaconesses.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 18th day of y<sup>e</sup> first Month, 1679, three of those 4 persons for Deaconesses were, by fasting and prayer, commended to y<sup>e</sup> work and office, of Widows, or Deaconesses, to this Church: and soe, solemnly, they were sett aparte to that worke of looking after y<sup>e</sup> sick members of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation; viz. S. Smith y<sup>e</sup> elder, S. Webb y<sup>e</sup> elder, S. Walton; Deaconesses instituted, all above y<sup>e</sup> age of 60 yeares, as 1 Timo. v. 9.

*They* being y<sup>e</sup> day of prayer before elected, y<sup>e</sup> Elders sent two *Sisters* unto them, to acquaint them of it, and to know whether they would accept of it; which they all did, *Except* S. Spurgin. She was by noe meanes willing; and by some providence of her Relation's sick family, was hindered from being here this day of prayer. But S. Smyth, S. Webb, and S. Walton, that were willing to accept of y<sup>e</sup> Charge, y<sup>e</sup> Church, in y<sup>e</sup> after parte of y<sup>e</sup> day of prayer, did depute those 3 to their worke thus:—

First, it being demanded of y<sup>e</sup> Church whether they would now sett them aparte, which by their silence was granted:—

Secondly, it was demanded of y<sup>e</sup> Sisters, S. Smith, S. Webb, and S. Walton, whether they were willing to bring themselves under an obligation in themselves not to marry, because of that scripture, 1 Timo. v. 11. If they were willing, wee should know it by their Silenee. If they were not willing to bring themselves under Obligation, That then they might tell soe to any Sister, who might speake to any Brother to declare they, or any of them, were not willing to bring themselves under such a Tye or Bar.

But by their silence they acquiesced, to engage themselves not to marry. After which they were declared by one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruling Elders, namely, Br Terrill, to be Deaconesses, Set apart to that worke and service in y<sup>e</sup> Church, to looke after y<sup>e</sup> Sick Members. Their worke was further declared to them in these particulars:—

1. To visitt y<sup>e</sup> Sick, to have their Eye and Eare open to hearken and enquire who is sick, and to visitt y<sup>e</sup> sick sisters in an Especiall manner, to see what they Need, Because it may not bee soe proper for men in severall cases.

2. To visitt not only sick Sisters, but sick Brethren alsoe; and therefore some conceive may be y<sup>e</sup> Reason why they must be 60

yeares of age, that none occasion may be given; and as 1 Timo. v. 14.

3. Not only to take care of their sick bodies, of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren and Sisters, But that their wants may be supplied; and therefore to make reports back of their condition, to y<sup>e</sup> Elders and Deacons of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation.

4. It is their duty alsoe to *speake* a word to their soules, as occasion requires, for support or consolation, to build them up in a spirituall lively faith in Jesus Christ; for, as some observe, there is not an office of Christ *in his Church but it is dipt* in y<sup>e</sup> blood of our Lord Jesus.

5. Some thinke it is their duty to Attend y<sup>e</sup> sick; and if soe, then they are to bee maintained by y<sup>e</sup> Church.

This being declared, those 3 sisters were set aparte as Deaconesses of this Congregation, by fasting and prayer, said day.

Upon 13th day of y<sup>e</sup> 2d Mo. 1679, Mrs. Allen was proposed to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, upon a Lord's day, when y<sup>e</sup> church stayed after Evening Sermon.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 22nd day of 2nd Mo. 1679, said Mrs. Allen gave her Declaration of y<sup>e</sup> worke of God upon her soule, att a day of prayer, in y<sup>e</sup> Midst of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation; and y<sup>e</sup> Church received satisfaction to receive her.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> same day John Messenger, and his sister Elizabeth, were proposed to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation.

Upon same day, y<sup>e</sup> Brethren, having received *An Answer* from y<sup>e</sup> Church att Westmancoate, that they would not spare Br. Browne to come to us, tooke it into Consideration to send to Mr. Fownes of London, a Minister there.

And they alsoe, y<sup>e</sup> same day, agreed to pay one halfe, with Br. Gifford's people y<sup>e</sup> other halfe, to buy a burying-place for ourselves, a Garden in Redcross Lane,—and there they buried that weake, but holy, lamb-like servant of God, Henry Hynam, Pastour before Bro. Gifford,—that wee might bury our dead without y<sup>e</sup> ceremonies of y<sup>e</sup> Parish parsons in their yeards.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 20th day of 3rd Mo. 1679, John Messenger, and his Sister Elizabeth Messenger, they gave their Declaration of y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> Lord upon their souls, before y<sup>e</sup> Congregation present at their day of prayer. Y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, in y<sup>e</sup> judgment of Charity, did agree to receive them; but, John being but lately wrought upon, concluded to lett them waite a While before they be received, and to enquire into their Conversations, If it be suitable to what they profess.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 24th day of y<sup>e</sup> 4th Mo. 1679, Mrs. Eliz. Ewins, (daughter of Major Clarke, deceased, and wyfe to Mr. John Ewins, y<sup>e</sup> only Child and Sonn of Mr. Thomas Ewins, our late pastour,) shee was propounded to Joyne with this Congregation.

Y<sup>e</sup> Church, having had a denyall from Mr. Browne, or rather from y<sup>e</sup> Church he walked with, upon y<sup>e</sup> 22nd day of y<sup>e</sup> 2nd Mo.

last as aforesaid, agreed to send to Mr. Fownes, a Minister in London, to come to us. And accordingly, by our Endeavours through Friends there, and letters to invite him, hee came downe y<sup>e</sup> 26th day of 4th Month, 1679.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 15th day of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Mo. 1679, being a day of prayer, y<sup>e</sup> Congregation assembled, and gave Mr. Fownes a *Call*. *First*, they sought y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and then proposed y<sup>e</sup> Qu. to y<sup>e</sup> Church, whether they would Unanimously call him? To which they all assented. Then one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders, (to witt, Edward Terrill), drew out a writeing or instrument, for all y<sup>e</sup> Members to signe, and to deliver to Mr. Fownes, as their Call, under their hands, and so read y<sup>e</sup> same to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, if they did like it soe to doe: a copy of which is as foll. *The Brethren* approveing of it, after y<sup>e</sup> Elders and Deacons subscribed, y<sup>e</sup> Brethren were called, one by one, and they subscribed their names. And after them y<sup>e</sup> Sisters were called upon, by y<sup>e</sup> Churches Roll, to answer their names, and to ask them every one in particular, one by one, whether they would as their Act have their names subscribed for them, to call Mr. Fownes on Tryall for Pastoral Eldership? And they all were unanimous, and soe it was signed.

Which when done, y<sup>e</sup> Church sent two of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren to call Mr. Fownes to y<sup>e</sup> Meeting. And, being come, one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders made a speech to him, acquainting him, that after seeking y<sup>e</sup> Lord They unanimously pitcht upon him to bee their Pastour; and that by God's grace haveing been counted worthy to bee a Church of Christ, and by him had been a remnant of Poore soules kept in much peace and unity hitherto, and did hope y<sup>e</sup> Lord would make him an *instrument* to carry on y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Worke in this Church or Congregation, to his praise. *And* then delivered him y<sup>e</sup> Call in writeing under our hands. *And* then next acquainted him, that hee might know it was all our unanimous consent and Act, Hee should see y<sup>e</sup> signe of y<sup>e</sup> Chureh, which was this;— Every Member presently lift up their right hands to y<sup>e</sup> Lord. And soe, y<sup>e</sup> roome being thronged, as it were a Cloud of Naked Hands were Erected towards y<sup>e</sup> Ceiling of y<sup>e</sup> Room.

*Then Mr. Fownes* beholding y<sup>e</sup> same soe joynt an Act of y<sup>e</sup> Church, said he could not tell what to make of y<sup>e</sup> Providence of God; But this their Act did seem to interpret it to him. But for y<sup>e</sup> present, as hee did thinke they would not Expect, soe hee could not give them answer, till he had returned home to London. *And* if that, through his Outward occasions, hee did not give them a suddain Answer, yet hee would not have us to thinke it was a slighting of us. *And* then hee prayed with us, and after departed, because hee was entreated to preach that Evening at Mr. Weekes' Meeting-house.

*A Copy of y<sup>e</sup> Call to Br. Fownes, as Followeth:—*

IN PURSUANCE of y<sup>e</sup> Command of God, and our Saviour



Jesus Christ, to Worship y<sup>e</sup> Lord in Separation from y<sup>e</sup> World, according to his institutions and y<sup>e</sup> Examples of y<sup>e</sup> Saints in Holy Scriptures, as 2 Cor. vi. 17; Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Ezra vi. 21; Neh. xiii. 3, and chap. x. 28, 29; Rev. xviii. 4; Jer. li. 6—10; Acts ii. 41, 42, 47, and chap. xiii. 2, 3, and Acts xiv. 23, &c.,—*Wee, whose names are under written, having obtained Mercy from y<sup>e</sup> Lord to Become a Congregation of Christ, (in Bristoll, formerly walking with Brother Thomas Hardcastle, deceased), being a remnant of poor souls that tyme after tyme, by y<sup>e</sup> Grace of our Lord Jesus with some power upon our Hearts, was made sensible of our lost state by Nature, and moved to Fly for Refuge to y<sup>e</sup> Hope set before us, and haveing laid hold by faith on that Eternal lyfe in Christ Jesus, and soe given up ourselves to him to bee our King, Priest, and Prophet: Whose Holiness we Desire to dread, as being Him that walkes in y<sup>e</sup> Midst of y<sup>e</sup> seaven Golden Candlesticks, Rev. ii. 1; and therefore would keepe in remembrance his late Chastisements of us, by his sudden stroake removeing our Pastour from us, and taking of him to himselfe, as wee fear, for our Omissions, Transgression, and Sins:—Yet, under all his Corrections, wee would hope in his Mercifull promises, that hee will bee with us to y<sup>e</sup> end of y<sup>e</sup> world, Ps. lxxxix. 28 to 34. And eyeing his gracious Providence toward us, as it is written, Eph. iv. 8 to 15, when he ascended up on high hee gave Gifts unto men; some to bee Pastours and teachers, for y<sup>e</sup> Edifying of y<sup>e</sup> body of Christ: till wee all come to y<sup>e</sup> Unity of y<sup>e</sup> faith, and y<sup>e</sup> Knowledge of y<sup>e</sup> Sonn of God, unto a perfect Man, in y<sup>e</sup> Measure of y<sup>e</sup> Stature of y<sup>e</sup> fulness of Christ. Therefore, to y<sup>e</sup> end wee may keep y<sup>e</sup> faith, as it was once delivered to y<sup>e</sup> Saints, Jude 3, and not bee corrupted from y<sup>e</sup> Simplicity that is in Christ, 2 Cor. xi. 3:—*Wee doe by these presents Call you, our dearly Beloved Brother George Fownes, Minister of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell, To bee our Pastour under Jesus Christ our great Shepheard; To Preach to us y<sup>e</sup> Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ in y<sup>e</sup> Gospell of his free grace; And to Administer unto us all y<sup>e</sup> Ordinances of our Saviour Jesus Christ, according to y<sup>e</sup> Primitive Institution and Practice of y<sup>e</sup> Saints Recorded in y<sup>e</sup> Holy Scriptures, laying aside all Traditions and inventions of men, from which wee desire in y<sup>e</sup> Lord's feare to separate, as our Bounden duty, and to follow y<sup>e</sup> Lord in sincere obedience to his Divine Will, laid down in his Holy word contained in y<sup>e</sup> Old and New Testament, left to us and all Generations, praying that wee may have y<sup>e</sup> Guidance of his holy Spiritt to understand that Rule of his Word, that wee may walk thereby to y<sup>e</sup> praise of y<sup>e</sup> Glory of his grace, who hath called us out of Darkness into his Marvellous light; Soe rendring unto y<sup>e</sup> father, sonn, and Holy Spiritt, all glory, Dominion, and Praise, world without end. Amen. And as a Testimony of this our Joynt and solemn Call, given to you, our said beloved Bro. Geo. Fownes, on Triall for Pastoral Eldership among us, Wee doe, in y<sup>e</sup> behalfe of ourselves, and y<sup>e</sup>**

rest of y<sup>e</sup> Church that walke with us, *Give it under our hands* this 15th day of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Month, Anno Dom. 1679.<sup>61</sup>

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 5th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo 1679, Mr. Fownes being yesterday gone on his journey towards London, it being our Monthly day of prayer, Mrs. Ewins and Mrs. Goodman were spoken with before y<sup>e</sup> church. They gave y<sup>e</sup> worke of God upon their soules, and y<sup>e</sup> Church was satisfied with it to receive them Members. Y<sup>e</sup> Lady Waller, Sr Wm's wyfe, being a Member of another Church, was there present.

*Upon* this 5th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo. 1679, S. Webb, one of y<sup>e</sup> Deaconesses, was Interred after y<sup>e</sup> Meeting was done at Wal-borrows. Shee was about 64 years of age; Departed y<sup>e</sup> 4th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo. Shee left a good Savour behind her: did much Good with her little. Shee laboured hard in her way of distilling Waters, a small Trade, and gave constantly while she lived 40s. a yeare for y<sup>e</sup> Pastour, and left 50*l*. To y<sup>e</sup> use of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 19th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6 Month, 1679, Mr. Joseph White, and his wyfe, and Mrs. Clarke, y<sup>e</sup> younger, y<sup>e</sup> wife of Mr. Sam. Clarke, were proposed to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Congregation. And by reason these had been well known to us many years, having kept constant to our Meetings in y<sup>e</sup> tymes of our Persecution, and of blameless Conversations, Wee tooke an account of y<sup>e</sup> worke of God upon their soules y<sup>e</sup> same day, being a day of Prayer that y<sup>e</sup> Church kept once in fourteen dayes since y<sup>e</sup> decease of our late pastour, untill we have another. And soe Mr. Joseph White, and Mrs. White, his wife, and Mrs. Clarke, they gave their Declarations, one after another, how y<sup>e</sup> Lord wrought upon theire soules; and y<sup>e</sup> Church was satisfied therewith to receive them all. Mrs. Clarke especially made many of y<sup>e</sup> Members Weep for Joy to hear y<sup>e</sup> gracious work of y<sup>e</sup> Lord upon her soule, and all had much Communion in y<sup>e</sup> spirit with her in her sincere breathings.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 29th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo. 1679, These following were baptized in y<sup>e</sup> river Froome, at S. Young's house, by brother Jennings, our usual Administrator; (viz.), Mr. JOSEPH WHITE, JOHN MESSENGER, Mrs. EWINS, Mrs. ALLEN, Mrs. CLARKE, Jun., Mrs. GOODMAN, and ELIZABETH MESSENGER.

*Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 2nd of Sept. 1679, these following were received, and declared Members of this Congregation, being a day of prayer:— Br. Joseph White, and S. White, his wife, Br. John Messenger, and S. Eliz. Messenger, his sister, S. Clarke, junior, S. Eliza Ewins, S. Sarah Allen, S. Goodman, Added Members. Y<sup>e</sup> Church having noe Pastour att present, these were taken into y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, as Members thereof, by one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elders, Br. Terrill, on a day of Prayer, laying theire duty before them, how they ought to behave themselves in y<sup>e</sup> House of God, 1 Tim. iii. 15: 1st, theire duty towards God; 2nd, towards y<sup>e</sup> Church, or every Member; 3rd, Towards y<sup>e</sup> World, as becometh saints.

<sup>61</sup> The list of those signing the call is given in Appendix (a) p. 272.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 16th day of y<sup>e</sup> 7th Mo. 1679, being a day of Prayer, Mr. Fownes being y<sup>e</sup> 2nd tyme come from London on y<sup>e</sup> 5th instant, spent two Lord's dayes more with us, and this our day of Prayer being come, and y<sup>e</sup> Church assembled to seeke y<sup>e</sup> Lord, in y<sup>e</sup> after parte of y<sup>e</sup> day wee did by one of our Elders, viz., Br. Ellis, put y<sup>e</sup> question to said Mr. George Fownes, whether hee did accept of our Call that wee gave him two Months before? *Hee answered, hee owned our Call* to bee y<sup>e</sup> voice of our Lord Jesus Christ unto him, and therefore was willing, as y<sup>e</sup> Lord should help him, to serve this Church whilst he lived, or y<sup>e</sup> rest of his days; desiring our Prayers, and to Overlooke and pardon all weaknesses and Humane infirmities that wee might see in him.

*Hee thus* declaring his accepting *Our Call*, then wee did, by y<sup>e</sup> said Br. Ellis, desire y<sup>e</sup> Church to declare theire Unanimous Consent, and token of theire Choosing him to bee their Pastour, by lifting up theire Right hands to y<sup>e</sup> Lord; which they did immediately, every one of them. And then said Br. Ellis Concluded y<sup>e</sup> day with Prayer.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 24th day of y<sup>e</sup> 7th Mo. 1679, (our Pastour Elect being two days before returned to London to fetch downe his family.) It happened that a very Grievous and sad Tidings came to y<sup>e</sup> ears of y<sup>e</sup> Church, concerning one of y<sup>e</sup> Members, namely, *Mary Smith*, that had walked with us about 5 years 4 Mos, being a servant Maid, living att a place called Woolland, 4 miles from this Citty, with one William Ship, a Country Yeoman, being a Widdower. Shee was reported to be with Child. One of y<sup>e</sup> Elders, y<sup>e</sup> same day, sent two Sisters of y<sup>e</sup> congregation, S. Dickason and S. Dennis, to her to examine y<sup>e</sup> matter, and they found it to be true, and shee confessed y<sup>e</sup> matter, and said it was by her Master, who, shee said, at first forced her. And then, a day after, y<sup>e</sup> Elders sent over two Brethren to her and her master, and had them face to face. Shee charged him with it, hee could not deny it; yet they could not prevail with him to marry her, seeing hee had wronged her. Y<sup>e</sup> sisters sent were Ordered by Br. Terrill to summon her to appear before y<sup>e</sup> Congregation y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day following. *Soe*, accordingly, with great shame and weeping, and covering her face, shee came.

*Soe* upon y<sup>e</sup> 28th day of y<sup>e</sup> 7th Month, 1679, Being y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, when y<sup>e</sup> Afternoon Sermon was ended, y<sup>e</sup> Members of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation were desired to stay, and those that remained that were not of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, nor proposed to it, nor members of other Churches, were desired to depart. And thus only y<sup>e</sup> Church being together, and y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid offending member, *Mary Smyth*, being present, according to summons that was sent her, shee was then *cast out of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation* by one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elders, namely, Br. Terrill, although we had no Pastour.

Y<sup>e</sup> manner of Proceeding in this sad worke was thus:—First, hee showed that there were some cases wherein a Congregation

might proceed to their duty of Excommunicating a Member, without Previous Admonitions; that is, such offences as were open, Notorious, and publicly Scandalous, of which this was one. Secondly, he declared before y<sup>e</sup> whole Church her *Crime*, or sinn committed. Thirdly, proved from y<sup>e</sup> *Holy Scriptures*, that this her offence was an Evill that God would enter into Judgment against; Therefore y<sup>e</sup> Church might condemn and cast out that person that had done that Evill Deed; 1 Cor. v. 3, 5. Fourthly, declared That although this was in Hatred, abhorrence, and detestation of her sinn, that y<sup>e</sup> flesh might be destroyed, yet it was in love to her soule, that it might, if possible, bee saved in y<sup>e</sup> day of Christ, or final Judgment. Fifthly, he declared, that in faithfulness to God, and obedience to our Lord Jesus Christ's Commands and institutions, That y<sup>e</sup> Church might bee cleansed, and not bee partakers of sinn and wickedness to provoke y<sup>e</sup> Lord, *shee haveing* run away from y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and his paths of *Holiness*, it was their bounden duty to cast her out of y<sup>e</sup> ship; (Jonah i. 11, 12). Sixthly, therefore, then, *in y<sup>e</sup> name of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and y<sup>e</sup> power and authority he hath given to his Churches, (y<sup>e</sup> sentence was passed upon her), and at y<sup>e</sup> beginning of y<sup>e</sup> Name of Lord all y<sup>e</sup> Brethren putt off their Hatts; (viz.)— *Wee doe declare that thou, Mary Smyth, for thy sinn of Fornication, art from Henceforth noe more a Member of this Congregation; But art cast forth into y<sup>e</sup> World, and to enjoy noe Longer y<sup>e</sup> priviledges of God's House, nor Partaker with us in his Holy Mysteries, and y<sup>e</sup> Lord have Mercy on thy Soule.* And seaventhly, said Br. Terrill declared, that though by y<sup>e</sup> Command of y<sup>e</sup> Lord we were thus to separate her from us;—shee having separated herself by such sinn, that was not y<sup>e</sup> spott of God's people, and soe entered herself againe into y<sup>e</sup> power and dominion of sinn and kingdom of Sathan, in not avoiding y<sup>e</sup> appearance of Evill, but rejected y<sup>e</sup> Grace and teaching of God's Word and Spirit of Holiness, and soe forsaking y<sup>e</sup> Congregation and paths of y<sup>e</sup> righteous;—Yet, this *Act of y<sup>e</sup> Church*, and sentence pronounced against her, was not soe *Decretall*, But that if God should graunt her repentance to life not to be repented of, such as should bee to y<sup>e</sup> satisfaction of y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, shee might bee received in againe hereafter. *After* which hee prayed for her, and prayer was made by y<sup>e</sup> Church for her, that shee might not sinn any more, lest a worse thing come upon her; but rather, if shee belong to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, shee might be thoroughly humbled, convinced, converted, and restored to Christ, That she might not be continued under y<sup>e</sup> sentence, and att last cast out of *Heaven alsoe*. Thus this sad worke was ended, that wee never knew y<sup>e</sup> like Evill committed in this Church before.

*Alsoe*, y<sup>e</sup> same tyme after, an Admonition was sent to S. Ship, who lived near her, att Woolland, for not watching over her, and reproving her, y<sup>e</sup> said Mary Smith, for some Evill S. Ship now saith she knew her guilty of a yeare since and more, as

lying, &c., and yet did not deale with her according to her duty, Levit. xix. 17; and Matt. xviii. 15, 16, 17. And secondly, a reproof to y<sup>e</sup> said S. Ship for her own late absence, and neglecting of assembling with y<sup>e</sup> Church. Y<sup>e</sup> messengers appointed were Br. Bodenham and Br. Gwillem, and that they goe to y<sup>e</sup> Master of y<sup>e</sup> poor Maide cast forth, and endeavour to perswade him to marry her, seeing hee had abused her.

ALSOE, y<sup>e</sup> same tyme, *An Admonition* was sent from y<sup>e</sup> Church to another Member, namely, S. Watkins, a widdow Woman, for her scandalous Walking disorderly, not tending her business, but making it a Common practise to goe up and downe Borrowing money of any whomsoever shee could, and not endeavouring to pay it againe, takeing noe care therein; to y<sup>e</sup> reproach of y<sup>e</sup> Gospell and wayes of God, and of which shee had been severall tymes reprov'd, and therefore y<sup>e</sup> Church would bee forced to withdraw from her; 1 Thes. iii. 6.

*The same Evening*, after Mary Smyth was cast out of y<sup>e</sup> Church, as y<sup>e</sup> Sisters were departing, Br. Terrill moved to y<sup>e</sup> Brethren, that Notwithstanding wee had done our duty and cast her forth, yet we should endeavour to putt a stop to y<sup>e</sup> dishonour brought to y<sup>e</sup> wayes of y<sup>e</sup> Lord by this her Evill. And our first way to attain that end was, that y<sup>e</sup> Church should send some Brethren to ride over to y<sup>e</sup> man, y<sup>e</sup> said Mary Smyth's master, that had done this fact, and perswade him to Marry her; that two Brethren should go y<sup>e</sup> Morrow, and two after, if they could not prevaile, and more after, to follow it now betimes: To which they agreed. Soe Br. Bodenham and Br. Child went over to y<sup>e</sup> Man, but could not prevaile; His own natural Brother, one Rich. then stood in y<sup>e</sup> Way and much hindered. Next day, Br. Bryan went, and he took with him Br. Gwyn, and could not prevaile with y<sup>e</sup> said Brother.

On y<sup>e</sup> fifth day of y<sup>e</sup> Weeke, being y<sup>e</sup> 2nd day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Mo. 1679, Br. Terrill himselfe rode over, and took with him Br. Gifford, Pastour of y<sup>e</sup> other Baptized Congregation. And y<sup>e</sup> Lord favoured them with his presence; although, coming to y<sup>e</sup> House, they could find none within, but were led to y<sup>e</sup> man, Wm. Ship, in y<sup>e</sup> Field with his plough. Who, rideing up to him, tooke him aside, desiring to speake to him about y<sup>e</sup> Matter of his Sinn, in abusing his Maid; And that seeing hee had done so, it was his duty to marry her, by y<sup>e</sup> Command of y<sup>e</sup> Lord in that Case; naming two Scriptures to him, (viz.) Exod. xxii. 16, and Deut. xxii. 28. (He seemed to be very opposite, and in a bad humour); but wee prayed him to walke to his house with us. And there further discoursed him, and read those Scriptures to him, and desired him to read them himselfe, which he did; telling him our end was only y<sup>e</sup> glory of God, and y<sup>e</sup> Good of his Soule, that brought us thither, to lay before him life and death; Whether hee would sinne more by not obeying y<sup>e</sup> Lord in such case to marry her, which was his first step to repentance, if God should afterwards graunt them y<sup>e</sup> grace of Repentance

unto life; with many other Arguments wee used to him.

As wee were thus perswading him, his Br. Ship came in, *by Providence*, to us. We reasoned with him about y<sup>e</sup> matter, and those two scriptures before named, that shewed it his positive duty, and asked him what he could say against it. For that was no Ceremonial Law, but parte of God's Judicial Laws: what man was to do between one another, and what y<sup>e</sup> Magistrate was to require and see done; and that it was distinct from y<sup>e</sup> Ceremonial Law that was for Aaron and y<sup>e</sup> Priesthood and Levites to perform. His said Br. argued severall other things against his marrying of her. But wee told him that it was written his positive duty, seeing he had humbled her; and therefore, hee that should breake one of y<sup>e</sup> least of God's Commands, and teach men soe, he should be called y<sup>e</sup> least in y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome of Heaven. Soe bidd him beware of dissuading him to y<sup>e</sup> Contrary; and with many other Arguments, that y<sup>e</sup> glory of God should bee stained and throwne in y<sup>e</sup> Dirt by him, that had formerly sometymes come to meetings.

Y<sup>e</sup> Lord, at last, did bend y<sup>e</sup> Man's heart, that hee said hee had thoughts to marry her. We prest him to y<sup>e</sup> present doeing of it, that, if possible, hee might putt some stop to y<sup>e</sup> reproach cast on y<sup>e</sup> Gospell; and he consented. Wee considered of a Parson to do it, and hearing of a parish Priest that did use to Marry persons privately, Br. Terrill would needs ride away presently to find him out, and soe did. And y<sup>e</sup> Lord favoured by his Providence, that hee, Parson Davis, was att home, and gott him to come to y<sup>e</sup> said Wm Ship's House, promiseing him hee should have money to fetch a Lycence and alsoe paid for his paines. Soe hee came, and by perswasion gott him to marry them presently, in y<sup>e</sup> presence of the said Br. Terrill, Br. Gifford, and Richard Ship, y<sup>e</sup> man's Brother. Soe y<sup>e</sup> Lord Prosperously effected y<sup>e</sup> Matter, blessing y<sup>e</sup> endeavours used to regaine y<sup>e</sup> Glory they had lost. Y<sup>e</sup> like Evill, through grace, had not been knowne amongst us since wee were a Church, near this forty yeares; therefore was cause of great lamentation, that Christ should be soe wounded afresh by us.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 5th day of 8th Mo. being y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, after Evening Sermon, y<sup>e</sup> Congregation staying, they ordered that two Brethren, namely, Br. Bodenham and Br. Snead, should be sent to Br. Jeremy Courtney, that stands under y<sup>e</sup> Churches Admonition, and S. Watkins, that they should attend y<sup>e</sup> Congregation att their day of Prayer, next 3d day of y<sup>e</sup> Weeke, being y<sup>e</sup> Churches Monthly day.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 7th day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Mo. 1679, being a day of Prayer, *Jane Daniell* was added a Member of this Congregation, by one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elders. Shee was long since spoken with and accepted by y<sup>e</sup> Church. Her Conversation being inquired into, shee was now received solemnly, and, in y<sup>e</sup> name of our Lord Jesus Christ and this Church, shee had y<sup>e</sup> right of fellowship given her, with Exhortations to mind her duties, first, towards God; secondly, towards

every member of y<sup>e</sup> Church, to watch over them, and to reprove them, according to y<sup>e</sup> Rule of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, Matt. xviii. 18; and, thirdly, her duty to y<sup>e</sup> world.

*Jeremy Courtney cast out 7th day 8 Mo., 1679. Y<sup>e</sup> church being willing to sett Members in Order against y<sup>e</sup> coming of our new Pastour from London, Did alsoe, upon this same day proceed with Jeremy Courtney, that had for a long tyme been under Admonition of y<sup>e</sup> Church, who waited for his Repentance, and Reformation of that his sinn of Drunkenness; But not finding him to return to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation to be restored to his full Communion, nor Reformation of his Evill, y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, considering of it, did agree together to cast him out of y<sup>e</sup> Church: haveing sent two Brethren y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day before to him, to summon him to attend y<sup>e</sup> Congregation this day of prayer; but he came not;—y<sup>e</sup> reason rendered, hee had been lately Ill. Yet, Notwithstanding, y<sup>e</sup> Congregation proceeded to theire duty. And therefore, one of y<sup>e</sup> Ruleing Elders, Namely, Br. Terrill, by consent of y<sup>e</sup> Whole Congregation then assembled, did pronounce y<sup>e</sup> sentence; (viz.) *In y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus, and y<sup>e</sup> Authority hee had given to his Churches, Wee did declare, that Jeremy Courtney, for his sinn of Drunkenesse, of which hee stood convicted, and severall tymes thereof admonished by y<sup>e</sup> church, but not reforming, was from henceforth to bee noe longer a Member of this Congregation: But was cast out into y<sup>e</sup> World, And noe longer to bee Partakers with us in y<sup>e</sup> Holy Misteries of y<sup>e</sup> Lord, nor Fellowship with us, nor to enjoy y<sup>e</sup> Priviledges of God's house;—and y<sup>e</sup> Lord have Mercy upon his Soule.**

This being ended, with lamentation and sore trouble that wee were forced, for y<sup>e</sup> preservation of y<sup>e</sup> Glory of God and y<sup>e</sup> Churches purity, thus to proceed to our duty, as y<sup>e</sup> last means to endeavour his recovery: First, y<sup>e</sup> said Br Terrill shewed his Crime, and y<sup>e</sup> Evidence that it was true and obvious. Secondly, that this Crime was a Sinn that whosoever should live and die in it without repentance, should not inheritt y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome of God; as 1 Cor. vi. 10. Therefore those that did continue in such sins, should not be continued in y<sup>e</sup> Church. For what Christ will Judge hereafter, his people should Judge here, and have noe fellowship with such workes of darkness.

*S. Watkins withdrawn from, 7 day, 8 Mo, 1679.* This affliction and trouble was not all; but y<sup>e</sup> Church haveing also summoned S. Watkins, for Tidings came to y<sup>e</sup> Ears of y<sup>e</sup> Church, that shee walked disorderly and scandalously in y<sup>e</sup> Borrowing of money, up and down, of many persons—of some Ten shillings, of some Twenty shillings, of some more, some less, as shee could gett them to lend—and tooke noe care to pay it againe, Promising people and not performing, spending much if not most of her tyme going up and down: and soe did not worke, or but little, to endeavour honestly to live, and Eat her owne bread. And thus, shee walking disorderly and scandalously in borrowing, contrary to y<sup>e</sup> Rule,

2 Thess. iii. 6, 10, 11, 12. Y<sup>e</sup> Church, after her Crime was declared, and proved to her face by divers in y<sup>e</sup> Church, and what they had heard shee had soe served some not of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, they consented all, universally, to withdraw from her. Then y<sup>e</sup> Ruling elder, Br. Terrill, declared to her before y<sup>e</sup> Church, how that for her soe sinning against y<sup>e</sup> Lord shee rendered herself among y<sup>e</sup> wicked ones, as Ps. xxxvii. 21: and therefore y<sup>e</sup> church, in faithfulness to y<sup>e</sup> Lord and to her soule, must withdraw from her, seeing shee had by severall of y<sup>e</sup> Members been admonished once and againe, and by severall together Witnessing against her Evill in soe doing: yett she had lately done y<sup>e</sup> like, Soe that there was a Necessity upon them to doe their duty. And alsoe acquainted her, that if y<sup>e</sup> Lord should hereafter give her Repentance of her Evill, that she should reforme to y<sup>e</sup> satisfaction of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, they should be willing to receive her into full Communion againe.

And then y<sup>e</sup> sentence, by y<sup>e</sup> said Ruleing Elder, was passed upon her; (viz.) *That in y<sup>e</sup> name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by y<sup>e</sup> authority hee had given to his Church, wee did declare that S. Watkins, for her sinn of disorderly walking, borrowing and not paying, making promises and not performing, and not diligently working, was withdrawn from, and noe longer to have full Communion with this church, Nor to be partaker with them in y<sup>e</sup> Holy Misteries of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper, nor priviledges of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's House. And y<sup>e</sup> Lord have Mercy upon her soule.—Noe priviledges, (viz.), If shee doth come to y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, Not to bee suffered to stay when any business of y<sup>e</sup> Church transacted, &c.*

UPON y<sup>e</sup> same 7th day, 8 Mo. 1679, being a day of Prayer, these persons following were propounded to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Church:—*Elienor Morgan, and Eliz. England*, propounded.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 21st day of 8 Mo 1679, being a day of prayer, those persons, Eliz. England and Eleanor Morgan, gave a declaration of y<sup>e</sup> worke of God on their soules, and y<sup>e</sup> Congregation was satisfied therewith to receive them.

UPON 22nd day of 8 Mo. S. Tilly departed this lyfe, and was interred att Philip's yard.

UPON 23rd day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Mo 1679, our New Pastour, Br. Fownes, came downe with his whole family, to settle with us, from London; whome wee hope y<sup>e</sup> Lord in Mercy hath sent to us, and that God will fill him with a double portion of his Spirit, to bring many soules to Christ, and build them up in y<sup>e</sup> Holy Faith.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 24th day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Mo 1679, these persons following were Baptized in y<sup>e</sup> river Froome, at S. Young's house, by Br. Jennings, y<sup>e</sup> usual Administrator, he being a Minister that was sent forth to preach above 20 years since, by a church in Gloucester walking with one Mr. Forbes. And therefore wee understand that whoever is made and ordained a Minister, to preach y<sup>e</sup> Gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ, being sett aparte to that worke of y<sup>e</sup>



Ministry (although hee bee not chosen a Pastour to any particular people, yet) hee hath power to Baptize those that professe repentance, and faith in Jesus Christ. Yet wee doe not understand nor hold that every Gifted Brother in a Church hath power to Baptize, untill hee bee sett aparte to y<sup>e</sup> worke of y<sup>e</sup> Ministry, as Barnabas and Saul were, (13 Acts, & 2).

*Every Gifted Br.* It is his Duty to Minister or Exercise his Gift in y<sup>e</sup> Church whereof hee is a Member, 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30, 31; 1 Pet. iv. 10, and 1 Thess. v. 11; But not his duty to preach to y<sup>e</sup> world, nor to goe forth to preach before hee hath a Call to y<sup>e</sup> worke, nor hath not power to *Baptize*, (although hee hath a Gift to preach), untill hee bee sent forth to preach y<sup>e</sup> Word. Then hee hath, by vertue of that Mission, power to Baptize alsoe; for soe wee see Philip, though but a Deacon, when sent to preach had power to Baptize, Acts viii. 26, 35, 38. And soe is y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Commission, Goe teach all Nations, Baptizing them, Matt. xxviii. 19. And therefore wee having Such a Brother amongst us, that walked with us, that was formerly sent forth by a Church to preach, and did goe up and downe preaching in y<sup>e</sup> Country about, from place to place, although wee did not think him fitt to choose him to bee our pastour, (and soe could not breake bread to us unless wee had Chosen him to bee our Pastour); yet wee made use of him to preach amongst us some tyme, and alwayes to Baptize. Dureing y<sup>e</sup> tyme of our Br Hardcastle, hee did Baptize all that were desirous of that Ordinance; and so he did Baptize these, (viz.) *Elizabeth England* and *Eleanor Morgan*, Baptized.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 5th day of 9th Mo 1679, Being our Monthly day of prayer at our Publique place in Broadmead, John Shuter, husband to our sister Shuter y<sup>e</sup> younger, who above a yeare since upon his then desire was proposed to Joyne with y<sup>e</sup> Church, but for some reason was delayed;—but hee now againe Earnestly pressing for Communion, and now being settled in his understanding about Baptisme and Order,—was admitted this Evening to declare y<sup>e</sup> worke of God upon his soule, before y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, after y<sup>e</sup> sermon in y<sup>e</sup> Publique Meeting-house. Hee declaring his conversion, Repentance from sinn, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, y<sup>e</sup> Church received Satisfaction to receive him.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 7th day of 9th Mo. 1679, y<sup>e</sup> said John Shuter was Baptized, or Dipped in y<sup>e</sup> River Froome.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Mo. 1679, being y<sup>e</sup> first Lord's day that Br. Fownes brake bread to us, (viz.) Administered y<sup>e</sup> Holy Sacrament of y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper to this Church; And then these persons following were Admitted Members of this Church by him, in our publique Meeting-house, in Broadmead:—(that is to say) Brother John Shuter, Sister Eliza. England, Sister Eleanor Morgan, Added to this Church.

MEMORANDUM. To y<sup>e</sup> praise of y<sup>e</sup> Lord bee it recorded, that, in y<sup>e</sup> Vacant tyme that wee had noe Pastour, it pleased y<sup>e</sup>

Lord to add 19 Members to this Church, and tryed us by casting out 3 Members, from y<sup>e</sup> tyme B. Hardcastle deceased, till Br. Fownes settled to us, near 14 Mo' space.

*Y<sup>e</sup> State of this Congregation y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of this 9th Mo 1679.* OR, YE NAMES OF YE MEMBERS of this Congregation, in being when Br. Fownes, whom they chose for theire pastour, came downe to settle with us; *shewing* who and how many there were Baptized after *Believing*. In all y<sup>e</sup> numbers were one hundred sixty-six, that were in being y<sup>e</sup> first tyme he brake bread unto us, which was y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9th Mo 1679; Committed unto his care and charge under Jesus Christ our Head, *King, Priest, and Prophet*; on whom wee live, depend, and trust alone from his word, by his holy Spirit, for increase of all grace, and Growth in Numbers; to have supplyes and fresh anointings, at all tymes, from him, our High Priest that ever lives and Never Changes, although hee takes away and gives us New Pipes of Conveyance. But *our king Jesus* is y<sup>e</sup> same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. To whome bee Glory, world without end. *Amen.*<sup>62</sup>

*Y<sup>e</sup> Totall* was one hundred sixty-six Members then living,—(whome, O Lord, increase in Number and Grace)!—whereof just 150 and with our Pastour, Br. Fownes, 151, were in actuall, present, and Common Communion, living in and about this Citty of Bristoll; other 10 Members removed by distance of habitation as above; and 6 under dealing by y<sup>e</sup> Church, and most of them at distance by habitation; besides y<sup>e</sup> 4 more that were lately cast out of y<sup>e</sup> Church, (viz.) Tho. Jacob, Jeremy Courtney, Mary Smith *alias* Ship, and y<sup>e</sup> widdow Watkins.

Sister Wmson departed y<sup>e</sup> 9th day of 10th Mo 1679; interred in James's Yard.

#### NOW BEGINETH OUR NINTH PERSECUTION.

*Anno 1680. Y<sup>e</sup> 4th day of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Mo.* being y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day, there came in two Informers into our Meeting-place in Broadmead, in y<sup>e</sup> morning, presently after y<sup>e</sup> text was named, and stayed there untill y<sup>e</sup> Meeting was ended. Our Pastour, B. Fownes, was preaching from Job xix. 25, I know my Redeemer Liveth, &c. Y<sup>e</sup> Informers were George Hellier, John Hellier's Bro.-in-law, and one Bennett, y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Apparitor. (This George Hellier, y<sup>e</sup> 6th day of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo was brought before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor for several Misdemeanors, being taken up by y<sup>e</sup> watch of y<sup>e</sup> Citty, by whom he was for that night putt into Bridewell, for being Drunk, and speaking Contemptuously of y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, bidding him kiss ———, and for swearing and abusing y<sup>e</sup> watch; for which, together with his Ill-behaviour when before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, he was bound over to y<sup>e</sup> next Qr Sessions, and to y<sup>e</sup> good behaviour, which such men have always been Strangers to.) Howbeit as a wild beast is y<sup>e</sup> more enraged by being Chained, so he that same day, being Tuesday,

<sup>62</sup> The list of those members is given in Appendix (b) p. 273.

goes to Mr. Weekes' Meeting-place (Mr. Young then preaching), being Drunk, with two other Informers, (viz.) Lewis Harris and Aaron Watts, and making a Noise, commands y<sup>e</sup> Minister to come down, who having near ended goes down a private way, and avoided them.

Y<sup>e</sup> 8th day of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Mo. 1680, y<sup>e</sup> said George Hellier, with y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Apparitor, and Lewis Harris, with Andrew Ball and Geo. Wilkins, two of y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff's Serjeants, comes up into y<sup>e</sup> meeting again, being our Lecture Sermon, whilst Br. Fownes was in his 1st Prayer. (Y<sup>e</sup> Informers were very Rude, and would hardly suffer him to conclude his Prayer.) Having a Warrant signed by two justices, viz. Sr Robert Cann, and Ald. Ollive, to Break up y<sup>e</sup> meeting, willing our Minister to come with them before y<sup>e</sup> said Aldermen, they shewed their Warrant; which Bro. Fownes reading to himself, replied, his Name was not in y<sup>e</sup> Warrant to bring him before them. But y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants clamorously and violently pressing in y<sup>e</sup> midst of y<sup>e</sup> meeting, saying that they had orders to bring him with them, and Ball taking hold of Brother Fownes, who said unto him, If you will sitt down, and let me alone untill I have done, I will goe along with you. Thus conditionally he promised to goe with them; but they would not accept thereof, nor stay, but would have him go presently.

Then Mr. Jo. Graunt, a Mercer on y<sup>e</sup> Bridge, being then at y<sup>e</sup> meeting, comes to y<sup>e</sup> Serjeants, and prevails with them to goe down y<sup>e</sup> staires a little while. Now Geo. Hellier, y<sup>e</sup> Informer, hasted away to fetch an express warrant for y<sup>e</sup> Minister. In y<sup>e</sup> meantime we persuaded Br. Fownes to goe home, down y<sup>e</sup> other staires; (for we knew if Alderman Ollive could get y<sup>e</sup> Minister before him, he would send him to Prison by y<sup>e</sup> 5 Mile Act, for preaching y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day before); but y<sup>e</sup> people Assembled staid in y<sup>e</sup> place, intending to stay out our time, tho' we were thus obstructed. Then Br. Terrill spake to y<sup>e</sup> People, to sing part of y<sup>e</sup> 46 Psal. and read it to them. And as we were singing, Geo. Hel. comes in, having gott a Warrant signed by Ald. Ollive, expressly to bring y<sup>e</sup> Body of G. Fownes before him, and brings with him a Constable of y<sup>e</sup> Citty, that he had Pickt up by ye way, to execute y<sup>e</sup> warrant. But y<sup>e</sup> Minister being gone, Geo. H. was in a Rage, and would have y<sup>e</sup> Constable lay hold on Somebody. He asked him, Who? He Answered, He that holds forth. But y<sup>e</sup> Constable not being willing, for we were all Singing, at last, seeing himself disappointed of his prey, departed in a Rage, and thus our Pastour escaped. Praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 11th day of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Mo. being Lord's day, those Informers, (viz.) G. Hellier, Bennett the Apparitor, and Lewis Harris (that was a base child, a vile fellow, an Informer), they having first been with y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Joseph Creswick, Esq., and gave their Information of a Meeting being assembled, Require of him aide, and his Order to suppress our Meeting. Upon this, (according

to y<sup>e</sup> Act made against Conventicles, Anno 1670) he could doe no less but send two Serjeants, (viz.) Thos. Chatton and Aron Watts; who coming upp into our Meeting, (after they had been at y<sup>e</sup> Castle Meeting, and at Mr. Gifford's Meeting) and being come, Hellier said, Here's Mr. Fownes again! for he was then Preaching, it being our morning meeting. And Thomas Chatton aforesaid, by order of y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, in y<sup>e</sup> King's name, he Commanded us to depart. And thus they clamorously talked several times; but our Pastor went on Preaching on this subject, 2 Pet. i. 10, Give all dilligence to make your calling and election sure, and Answered them not. At last they stood still, and harkened a good while, but y<sup>e</sup> said Geo. Hel and y<sup>e</sup> apparitor went up and down y<sup>e</sup> meeting, writing down y<sup>e</sup> Names of such as they knew, that they might be Convicted and fined according to y<sup>e</sup> said Statute: (Bro. Terrill being Convicted for y<sup>e</sup> last meeting, and fined 10*l*. 15*s*.: but praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, he suffered no such loss as yet). Tho. Chatton commands us againe to depart, and makes proclamation, crying, O yes! 3 times; and in y<sup>e</sup> King's Name, by y<sup>e</sup> Order of y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Commands us to depart. But our Minister kept on preaching, and y<sup>e</sup> people moved not, and y<sup>e</sup> Informers went away to Mr. Weekes' Meeting.

In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon wee were quiet; praise be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord. But y<sup>e</sup> said Informers were at y<sup>e</sup> Castle meeting all y<sup>e</sup> afternoon: for y<sup>e</sup> Doors being shutt, they could not enter.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 17th July, 1680, A Certain Man, who was a Stranger, was taken up neare y<sup>e</sup> Towlzy, said to be much like Br Fownes, and by Kemp y<sup>e</sup> Serjeant, and Lewis Harris y<sup>e</sup> Informer, taken up for Br. Fownes, and brought before Alderman Olive; but finding themselves mistaken, sent y<sup>e</sup> man away. Thus y<sup>e</sup> Lord shewed us theire designe, and preserved our Minister.

Y<sup>e</sup> 18th and 25th days of July, being y<sup>e</sup> two Lord's days following, we were in peace. Only y<sup>e</sup> Castle Meeting was haunted by y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid Informers, having Ald. Lawford for theire assistant; but could not get in, y<sup>e</sup> Doors being Shut.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 27th day, y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid Informers having notice of Mr. Weekes' Meeting on James's Back, when y<sup>e</sup> People were coming together, and prevented theire waiting upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord for that time.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 1st day of y<sup>e</sup> 6 Mo. y<sup>e</sup> said Informers come to Mr. Wey's Meeting in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, and Sr Rob. Yeomans and many more, and broke open y<sup>e</sup> doors, (but they conveyed away their Minister before y<sup>e</sup> Informers came in), and by proclamation commanded y<sup>e</sup> people to depart, and sent Mr. Will. Wade and Nath, his Br. to Newgate, and Beat another untill all bloody.

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 1st day of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo. being Lord's day, one Allien, Bookseller, and two more with him, (some of y<sup>e</sup> new raised Artillery), came up into our, and wrote a list of y<sup>e</sup> Names of some persons present.

UPON 3d day of this Mo. two Questions were proposed to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation by our Pastor, B. Fownes.

Quest. 1. Seeing great troubles were like to come, what course we should take upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord's days, when our enimies came in to disturbe us?

Answer. 1st If y<sup>e</sup> Informers, with Serjeants or Constables come in, that our Minister keep on Preaching, and y<sup>e</sup> People sitt still; generally concluded on by y<sup>e</sup> church. But, 2ndly, in case with y<sup>e</sup> Informers there come y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates, or a Justice of peace, and make proclamation, and in y<sup>e</sup> King's name command us to depart, then it was concluded by y<sup>e</sup> major parte of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation then present, that y<sup>e</sup> Minister should desist and come down. See y<sup>e</sup> Reasons hereof in y<sup>e</sup> wast-book.

2d Quest. If proclamation be made by a Magistrate, &c., as aforesaid, and y<sup>e</sup> people commanded to depart, Whether they ought presently to depart or not, before they laid hands on some of them, and forced them out?

Answered unanimously, and concluded not to goe presently out as soon as commanded. But, 2dly, if they did begin to use violence, and force some, we concluded they would others also; and therefore, we concluded, when they did begin to hale and pull persons violently, that then all should depart for y<sup>e</sup> present, and return again y<sup>e</sup> next opportunity at due season.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 5th day of 6 Mo. about 20 brethren met at our Pastor's to Consider who should, on all occasions, meet with some Brethren of other Churches to advise what to doe, and to Consider about y<sup>e</sup> Charge, and to bring in y<sup>e</sup> money, if any need happen at any time; as Lately there was of 30*l.* to keep y<sup>e</sup> keeper of Newgate Prison in his place, whereof we were to bear 3*l.* 10*s.* The Brethren named to take this care were, B. Ellis, B. Terrill, B. Bod., B. Hunt, B. Snead, B. King, B. Gwil. B. Ree.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 13th of y<sup>e</sup> 6th Mo. 1680, in y<sup>e</sup> morning, Sister Jenings, y<sup>e</sup> wife of our Br Jenings, departed this life, and was interred at Phillip's, in y<sup>e</sup> evening. Shee was a good woman, of great experience, faith, and holiness; from her Youth lived much in y<sup>e</sup> love of God, and before she dyed was exercised with long Sickness. Shee bare all with great patience, and would say to some shee was full of y<sup>e</sup> love of God in her soul, and sensible to her; bidding all to prize precious time.

ON y<sup>e</sup> 24th of this Mo. S. Rowley departed this life, and was interred at Phillip's. She was a gracious Young widdow, that it may be said of her, she feared y<sup>e</sup> Lord above many.

UPON y<sup>e</sup> 7 day of y<sup>e</sup> 7 Mo. the Church agreed and concluded to change our Monthly day of Prayer from y<sup>e</sup> 1st 3d day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke that happens in any month, to y<sup>e</sup> 2d Third day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke that shall be in every month. (*Vide* y<sup>e</sup> Reasons hereof in y<sup>e</sup> wast-book.)

Upon y<sup>e</sup> 12th day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Mo. 1680, being our monthly day of Prayer, The church on y<sup>e</sup> last day of Prayer took into consideration y<sup>e</sup> want of a Deacon, because Br. Forde had removed his

habitation 5 miles off, and then gave notice to y<sup>e</sup> Members they would choose two more Deacons this day. Which being come, y<sup>e</sup> Pastor laying open y<sup>e</sup> qualifications and duty of Deacons, spoke to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation to choose out two from amongst them for that work: and so he withdrew for a little space. And then y<sup>e</sup> Elders Nominated Six Brethren, that y<sup>e</sup> Congregation should choose two of those six, or who else they pleased. When those six were assented to, for to be putt in y<sup>e</sup> Election, they were desired to withdraw. And then their names were written down in a paper, and a straight line drawn from each Name, and every Brother took y<sup>e</sup> pen, and with it gave a stroake upon two of those 6 lines, against those names he would have to stand in this office. This course we took that every one might be free silently to prick who he was for, to avoid all prejudice that might otherwise happen. So Br. Bodenham and B. Snead were chosen by majority of voices. B. Bodenham had above 20 voices, or stroakes; B. Snead about 16. None of y<sup>e</sup> rest had 10; some none.

*This* was done in y<sup>e</sup> Close of y<sup>e</sup> day of Prayer. Y<sup>e</sup> next monthly day it is intended Solemnly to set them apart, by fasting and Prayer, to their work and office of Deacons. Oh, that our father in Christ would grant them his gracious Spirit and presence in y<sup>e</sup> work!

Y<sup>e</sup> persons besides those two in y<sup>e</sup> Election, were B. King 111111111, B. Fry 1111, B. Hunt —, B. Hill, —.

SISTER SPURGIN, being a widdow about sixty years old, departed this life this 23rd of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Mo. 1680, and was interred at Redclift by her Husband.

*Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 31st day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Month, y<sup>e</sup> Church being apprehensive of y<sup>e</sup> great designs and endeavors of men to undermine y<sup>e</sup> interest of our Lord Jesus in these Nations, and y<sup>e</sup> many dangers and Judgments that were impending, &c., did agree together to spend 2 or 3 hours every week in prayer, as many as could assemble together, from 5 o'clock till 8, each 3d day evening, changing y<sup>e</sup> meeting of Conference, that used to be y<sup>e</sup> 2d day evening, into this of prayer. See more of their Reasons in y<sup>e</sup> waste-book. No Brother to exceed half an hour in Prayer; and if any did exercise his Gift in speaking, not to exceed  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour. And so y<sup>e</sup> 1st of Nov. we began, and in 3 hours 6 brethren prayed, and one spake.

On y<sup>e</sup> 9th Nov. Br. Rob. Bodenham and Brother Nath. Snead, were set apart by fasting and Prayer for y<sup>e</sup> Office of Deacons, which they were before chosen to. Hands were not laid on them because y<sup>e</sup> Pastor somewhat scrupled it, though it was y<sup>e</sup> Judgment of y<sup>e</sup> Church to use that ceremony for Admission and Confirmation. The Wast-book quotes several Scriptures, and Hooker's Survey,<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Hooker's Survey. *A survey of the Sum of Church Discipline &c.*, 1648, London. This was by Thomas Hooker the minister of an Independent Church at Connecticut, Mass., America. [Not to be confused with Richard Hooker's *Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.]

for this Practise. The Pastour shew'd them their Work, and shewed that y<sup>e</sup> money collected should not only be for y<sup>e</sup> Poor, but for any other Use for y<sup>e</sup> Good of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, which had been y<sup>e</sup> judgment of this Church for 30 years, as Br. Terrill, one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders declared; but they must not lay it out without y<sup>e</sup> Consent of y<sup>e</sup> Church, at least y<sup>e</sup> Elders.

On y<sup>e</sup> 14th Jan, 168<sup>o</sup><sub>9</sub>, Eliza Dayos, — Knight, and Avis Bodenham, were baptized by Br. Th. Jennings, Mr. Fownes y<sup>e</sup> pastor being not well.

On Feb 8th, 168<sup>o</sup><sub>9</sub>, being our monthly day of Prayer, Mr. Tho Whinnell was again proposed to be a Member in this Church, (he being a Member at Christ's-Church in Dorsetshire some years ago, and by them recommended to a Free-Will people in this City, walking with Capt Kitchen, but since broken and scattered.) Y<sup>e</sup> Church was not willing to admit him, fearing he might hold Arminian Errours; but y<sup>e</sup> Pastour and elders, having discoursed him several Times, thought he was clear in y<sup>e</sup> Doctrine of Free Grace. But y<sup>e</sup> church at Christ's Church would not send him a Letter; therefore this Church wrote to know if they had anything to charge him with as to Morals.

On y<sup>e</sup> 6 Mar 168<sup>o</sup><sub>9</sub>, S. Alice Bowley, widow, departed, being 66 years of age, and was buried in James' Yard.

Anno 1681. On 10th May, 1681, S. Ship, wife of Rich. Ship, returned to y<sup>e</sup> Communion of this Church after long absence.

On y<sup>e</sup> 12th July, 1681, S. Hollister and Anne Martin gave in their Experience, and on y<sup>e</sup> 15th following, S. Griffin, y<sup>e</sup> Dr's Wife, and Anne Martin, were baptized by Bro. Fownes. On y<sup>e</sup> 17th day, S. Hollister was also added to y<sup>e</sup> church; and on y<sup>e</sup> same day, S. Gwillim dyed, and was interred in James' Yard, by her Children.

On y<sup>e</sup> 28th Aug., 1681, John Hellier, Chapman, Lugg, with a constable, and Hellier's son, went to Mr. Gifford's Meeting-house, found Br. W Harvord preaching. Hellier pulled him out of y<sup>e</sup> Pulpit, and carried him away to Newgate, without any Warrant, or bringing him before a Justice, and there detained him till y<sup>e</sup> next morning, when they had him before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Sr Richard Harte, there being also Ald. Olive, Hicks, Lawford, Crump, and Mr. Cranfield, on y<sup>e</sup> Bench. Hellier and two more swore they found him preaching in a Conventicle; y<sup>e</sup> Mayor tenders him y<sup>e</sup> Oath in y<sup>e</sup> Corporation Act, which he refused to take. Whereupon they would have committed him to Prison for 6 months, but Mr. Nath. Wade and Couns. Freek pleaded, that they not proving him to have been in holy Orders formerly, nor Lecturer, nor Stipendiary, but only preaching, could at present only convict him for Preaching, and could not send him to Prison on y<sup>e</sup> sd act, until after this they found him in y<sup>e</sup> Corporation. Whereupon, (though They said they might,) They did not send him to Prison, but fined him 20*l.*, to be levied by Distress on his Goods, and so let him go. Mrs. Clark followed Br Harvord to y<sup>e</sup> Entry of y<sup>e</sup> Prison, and Hellier in

his great Rage first pusht her down, and then put her also in Prison till next morning, and then brought her before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and would have her find Sureties for her good Behaviour. Thus they acted contrary to all Law.

On y<sup>e</sup> 13th day of Sept. 1681, S. Sylvester, a member of Mr. Nobbs's Church, at Sodbury, was admitted to Communion with us. On y<sup>e</sup> same day, Br. Rich. King, aged 68 years, having been lately Sick, gave us some Trouble by marrying his Maid, who had lived with him 7 years. He kept it private. Y<sup>e</sup> Day before, however, one of his Sons knew of it, and he and y<sup>e</sup> rest storm'd much at it, and acquainted one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders and y<sup>e</sup> Pastour with it, who went y<sup>e</sup> next morning and dissuaded him from it, urging Phil. iv. 8, and Col. iii. 21. In y<sup>e</sup> Evening of y<sup>e</sup> same Day, y<sup>e</sup> 2 elders went to him, and asked him, Whether he had promised her? He said, he had; but ask't their Advice. They put him in Mind of Prov. xx. 25; but proposed that, for y<sup>e</sup> Peace of his Family, he would endeavour to gain her Consent to live as they were, and He should give her Assurance in Writing to leave her Something at his Decease, to make her Life y<sup>e</sup> more comfortable. And they mentioned an Example of a good man that had done so in y<sup>e</sup> like ease, 20 Years since. However, they desired He would not do it presently, since he had not promised for y<sup>e</sup> Time. Besides, they feard she was not gracious, and proposed 1 Cor. vii. 39, and 2 Cor. vi. 14, to be considered, and told him, God's Glory was like to suffer by it, &c. He promised them he would not be hasty; but, nevertheless, was married y<sup>e</sup> next Morning, at which many of y<sup>e</sup> Church were much offended. Y<sup>e</sup> Elders dealt with him privately some Days after about his Rashness, and breach of Promise to them. He said, he forgot his Promise to them. Some Days after, one of y<sup>e</sup> Elders, and Br. Tyler, went to him again; but not finding him sensible of his Evil, y<sup>e</sup> Pastour, on y<sup>e</sup> Day abovementioned, brought it before the Church, and he being present, laid y<sup>e</sup> Evil before him. Then, he being withdrawn, y<sup>e</sup> Church concluded, that if he manifested Repentance he should continue his Place, or else be withdrawn from. He being called in again, declared with Tears he was sorry he had offended y<sup>e</sup> Church by not marrying in y<sup>e</sup> Lord, by bringing any Dishonour to Religion thereby, and by breaking his Promise to y<sup>e</sup> Elders. Y<sup>e</sup> Church being satisfied with his Repentance, he kept his Place.

On y<sup>e</sup> 14 7ber, 1681, Br. Hill, 70 years old, dyed, and was buried in Phillip's Yard.

On y<sup>e</sup> 5th Oct., 1681, Jane Lowe, a bapt. member, first at Salop, and afterwards at Abergavenny, was recd to full Communion here, by Letter from y<sup>e</sup> Church under y<sup>e</sup> care of Mr. Hen. Maurice.

On y<sup>e</sup> 9th Oct, 1681, y<sup>e</sup> members, considering y<sup>e</sup> Parson, would not suffer those whom they pleased to excommunicate to be buried in their Grave-Yards, concluded to join with y<sup>e</sup> other Congregation, walking with Br. Gifford, to buy a Garden in Redcross Lane, for



a Burying-Place. They must buy a Life and y<sup>e</sup> Fee, which would cost about 120l.; and y<sup>e</sup> Members subscribed for that purpose.

Now begins y<sup>e</sup> TENTH PERSECUTION. On y<sup>e</sup> 26th day of Nov. y<sup>e</sup> Ld's day, in y<sup>e</sup> middle of y<sup>e</sup> afternoon Sermon, there came up into y<sup>e</sup> Meeting-House in Broadmead 4 or 5 constables; vizs. John Tilly on y<sup>e</sup> Weir, Dyer a Hosier in Broadmead, Tho. Lugg a Hosier, Jasper Cause a Tanner. Jno. Tilly, at y<sup>e</sup> stairs' head, commanded all in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to depart; and then call'd Brother Fownes who was preaching to come down. Br. Fownes asked, who or what that man that so spake was? He was told by Br. Terrill, he was a Constable, (tho' they had not their Staves.) Tilly still clamouring, Mr. Fownes askt him by what Authority he Spake? and whether he had any Warrant? He answered, they had; and bid y<sup>e</sup> other Constables, who stood on y<sup>e</sup> stairs, come up. Mr. Fownes said, They had no Power by y<sup>e</sup> Laws of this Nation to execute any Warrant, Order, writt, Execution, or Decree, on y<sup>e</sup> Ld's day, except for Felony or Breach of y<sup>e</sup> Peace. Tilly said, that was a Breach of y<sup>e</sup> Peace; and so still commanded to depart, &c. Our Pastour said they were there met to worship y<sup>e</sup> Lord in Quietness, and askt Tilly whether they did see any of us armed? or whether he did believe in his Conscience We were come there with any such Intent? Tilly said, we must come to Church Canonically establish'd; and so, with many Words, calling and bidding to pull down Br. Fownes. And because he would not come down, he asked our Pastour what his Name was? He said his Name was well known, and he supposed he knew it; but did not tell him, tho' not ashamed of his Name or Work. So Bro. Fownes speaking to them boldly, as one undaunted, Br. Terrill advised him to go on with his Sermon. And They, after much Noise, seeing many People there, and that they would not disperse, took some Persons' Names, and went away.

On y<sup>e</sup> 27th Nov. 1681, being Ld's day, after Evening Sermon, y<sup>e</sup> Brethren were desired to Stay, to consider what might be our Duty as Christians to do in such a Time; how we might prevent such Trouble, as We had last Ld's day, by y<sup>e</sup> unruly Constables who so abused their Office. There was then a new Warrant, or Sessions' Process, against our Pastour, for living in a Corporation, and above 100 Dissenters in y<sup>e</sup> City endited last Sessions for not coming to Church, upon several Statutes of Queen Elizabeth. And they also persecuted us on y<sup>e</sup> Conventicle Act, coming into our Meeting-houses, taking Names, and then getting y<sup>e</sup> Warrants to distrein our Goods. To prevent this last, and that they might not take our Pastour, it was moved, whether, when y<sup>e</sup> People were come to y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, one Door should not be shut, and y<sup>e</sup> other watched, which might be shut on y<sup>e</sup> Sight of Constables or Informers; but if any of y<sup>e</sup> Justices, or Mayor himself came, to open y<sup>e</sup> Door to them. Y<sup>e</sup> Question was put, whether y<sup>e</sup> Doors should be shut on Ld's days, and our Lecture Days on Thursdays?

13 Brethren, viz., Br. Dickason, Fownes, Wms, Snead, Messenger, Army, Reeves, Lewis, Morgan, Willis, Cornish, Jones, White, would not have y<sup>e</sup> Doors shut at all; 5, viz., Br. Clarke, Page, King, Gwillim, Hunt, would have them open on y<sup>e</sup> Ld's day; 20, viz., Br. Ellis, Ekley, Bodenham, Bland, Hall, Warren, Th. Child, Bryan, Fry, Denis, Purnell, Davis, Hutton, Whitehead, Kemp, Evans, Tyler, Teather, Shuter, Terrill, were for keeping y<sup>e</sup> Doors fast. So we resolv'd to turn up y<sup>e</sup> upper Stairs of y<sup>e</sup> Meeting House, and come in at y<sup>e</sup> Left Door.

On y<sup>e</sup> 4th Dec., 1681, being Ld's day, John Tilly, Dyer Stocking-maker, Hoar a Freemason. Walter Watkin, Marshal of y<sup>e</sup> new-raised artillery, Denis, one of Hellier's men, and Joyner y<sup>e</sup> Keeper of Bridewell, came up into our Meeting, some others being below at y<sup>e</sup> Door. As soon as Tilly was come up He calls out, and commands our Pastour to come down, and commands several of y<sup>e</sup> Brethren, one after another, to pull him down; but they regarded him not. B. Fownes would not come down, but reason'd with him about his having no Authority; for they had produced no Warrant. Then they rusht thro' y<sup>e</sup> People towards our Minister. Watkin with great Fury and much Pressing gets up to him, commands him to come down, and was going to lay Hands on him; but our Pastour desired him to forbear, saying, none of y<sup>e</sup> Magistrates would do so. Then Tilly said, they would send for an Alderman, and bids them go and call Aldm. Crump; but none going, Watkin said he would go; and away he went, y<sup>e</sup> rest staying. Our Pastour then after some more discourse with them, told them, that if they would sit down and be quiet, They should hear what Rebellion they taught y<sup>e</sup> People (as it was said they did) against y<sup>e</sup> King's Laws. They would not sit but stood; and Mr. Fownes went on preaching from Heb. iv. 14, 15, 16, and afterwards concluded, continuing abt  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour in y<sup>e</sup> whole. Then y<sup>e</sup> People went down those Stairs that were turned. Tilly calls after Mr. Fownes to come along with him y<sup>e</sup> other Way; but he would not. Then they would have went that Way to take him; but he was convey'd away into a Room of a Neighbour's House, under y<sup>e</sup> Meeting House, and there staid till they were gone. As y<sup>e</sup> people were going down they threatened B. Terrill, Tyler, &c., saying, they kept fast a Hatch-door, and convey'd y<sup>e</sup> Minister another Way that They knew not of.

On Tuesday, 13th Dec. 1681, being our monthly day of Prayer, Mrs. Nicholas, in y<sup>e</sup> Marsh, declared y<sup>e</sup> Work of God on her Soul, with which y<sup>e</sup> Church was satisfy'd to receive her to Communion. On y<sup>e</sup> same day, John Hellier, (who came from London y<sup>e</sup> night before) Capt Ed. Arundell, and his Lieut. and many Constables of James' Ward, &c., went between 4 and 5 in y<sup>e</sup> evening to Mr. Weeks', y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterian minister's Meeting-house, on James's Back; and there, after many People were come in, expecting to hear a Lecture-Sermon as usual at that Time, Hellier and his Company commanded them to depart; and then ordered a Smith,

and several other Labourers he had provided, to pull down y<sup>e</sup> Pulpit, (which he called y<sup>e</sup> prattling-Box), and y<sup>e</sup> Pews; and they broke and tore them all to pieces as fast as they could. As this was doing much Rabble and Boys came in, and Hellier encouraged them to help, and said he would send up their names to y<sup>e</sup> king, and they should have 20l. a piece. So about 14 Labourers and y<sup>e</sup> Rabble continued late at night, breaking down y<sup>e</sup> Galleries, and tore their very Windows in pieces; and y<sup>e</sup> Rabble carried away y<sup>e</sup> Plunder as fast as they could, so that £100 would not make it good again.

On y<sup>e</sup> 14th Dec. 1681, Walt. Watkins broke open y<sup>e</sup> Door of y<sup>e</sup> House that goes into Mr. Weekes' Meeting, and fetcht out y<sup>e</sup> broken Stuff and Timber pluckt down, and had it haul'd away to Bridewell In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon of y<sup>e</sup> same Day, y<sup>e</sup> same Hellier, and Capt Arundell, with their petty Constables and Workmen, went to Mr. Gifford's Meeting-house, broke open y<sup>e</sup> Door, pulled down y<sup>e</sup> Pulpit and Seats and glass Windows, and carried all away. And then from thence y<sup>e</sup> same Day went to y<sup>e</sup> Quakers' Meeting-house, and did y<sup>e</sup> same there; and, as we hear, afterwards apprais'd y<sup>e</sup> Goods they carried away, valuing Mr. Weekes' at 22 shillings, y<sup>e</sup> quakers' at 15s, and Mr. Gifford's at 12s 6d. Thus they did what they pleas'd: for upon good consideration it was judged £200 would not make good what they ruin'd.

But our Meeting-House, and that in y<sup>e</sup> Castle where Mr. Stackhouse then preached, were not then meddled with, they having no Warrant from y<sup>e</sup> Mayor to that purpose. Some of us learned what Pretence they had for rifling those Meeting-houses; viz., they said they had a Warr. from y<sup>e</sup> King's Deputy-Lieuts to make a distress for £5 laid on all or each of those Houses, as a Fine, for sending a Soldier in Arms to y<sup>e</sup> last Muster, when y<sup>e</sup> Lord Herbert was in this City about 3 months since. Wherefore We agreed to pay them y<sup>e</sup> five pounds, if they came to our Meeting with a Warrant to Distrein signed by 3 of y<sup>e</sup> Dep-Lieuts; and this was signified by our Br. Gwillim to Sr Richd Crump, one of y<sup>e</sup> lieutenants, and to Capt. Arundell, and Hellier. And y<sup>e</sup> Castle People did y<sup>e</sup> same. Y<sup>e</sup> next Day they said they had got a Warrant to distrein upon us, and on y<sup>e</sup> last day of y<sup>e</sup> Week we paid £5 to Arundell and Hellier.

Y<sup>e</sup> next Day, being our Lecture Day, We were afraid they would come and rifle our Place also; and about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour before Br. Jennings had done preaching, there rusht up in great Haste Ald. Olive's Son, called a Merchant, and 2 or 3 constables with him. We desired Br. Jennings to cease, and convey'd him away secretly. Olive, hearing nobody preaching, throng'd thro' y<sup>e</sup> People, and commanded us to depart; but y<sup>e</sup> People sat still, tho' a Rabble and Boys followed him, expecting some Spoyl. They, seeing such a Multitude of People, askt what they did there? None answering, after a While Ollive cried O yes! 3 times; but could hardly speak,

he was so drunk. But y<sup>e</sup> People staid till y<sup>e</sup> Time was up, and then departed. And then we had much ado to get Olive and y<sup>e</sup> Constables out, being not willing to leave them behind Us. Olive laid hold on Mr. Nicholas, and would know his Name; but he would not tell him, because he was no Justice. Boulton, y<sup>e</sup> Constable, would have haul'd Br. Dennis to Bridewell, because he asked him whether they had any Warrt; but, thro' Mercy at last We got them all away, and lockt up our Doors.<sup>64</sup>

On y<sup>e</sup> 16th, Mr. Nicholas was bapt. by Br Jennings in y<sup>e</sup> river by Mrs. Young's.

On y<sup>e</sup> 18th Dec. 1681, being Ld's day, about 3 in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, as Br Fownes was preaching, Tidings were brought that y<sup>e</sup> Justices were coming; but he went on. Presently, Sr Rob. Yeamans, an Aldm., with some Mayor's Officers and Serjeants, came up one pair of Stairs, and some Constables with them; and up y<sup>e</sup> other Stairs came J. Knight, a Sheriff of y<sup>e</sup> City and Dep-Lieut., with Mr. Rumsey, y<sup>e</sup> Town-Clerk, Powell y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Secretary, and Blinkhorn his Register,—all y<sup>e</sup> 3 powers, Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military,—with a Rabble behind them. Sr Robt. and y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff, at y<sup>e</sup> Stairs' head, called and commanded our Pastour to come down; but our Pastour standing still and speaking to them, Sr Robt. throngs thro' y<sup>e</sup> People to find a Way to come at him. At last Chatten y<sup>e</sup> Serjeant finds a hatch-door for him, and then he comes through y<sup>e</sup> People to y<sup>e</sup> Pulpit, and opens y<sup>e</sup> Door thereof, and in great Fury says, Sirrah, come down. Our Pastour, having quieted y<sup>e</sup> People, said to him as he was coming down, You see We own Authority and are Subject to it, tho', it may be, as well descended as some others; therefore such rude Language might have been forborn. So Sr Robt. commanded all y<sup>e</sup> People to depart, and went down Stairs, and sent our Pastour to Newgate by Ball y<sup>e</sup> Serjeant. (There had been a Warrant granted against our Pastour several Months before, and he was liable to be carried to prison whenever they took him; so that he kept in on Week-days, but always went out on Ld's days, and sometimes would venture also to preach our Lecture on Week-days). Then Sr Robt, staid at y<sup>e</sup> foot of y<sup>e</sup> Stairs, to take y<sup>e</sup> Names of y<sup>e</sup> People that came out that Way, Hellier and Denis writing them; Sheriff Knight, and y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's men, taking y<sup>e</sup> Names of those that went down y<sup>e</sup> other Stairs. They sent also several to Bridewell from our meeting and Mr. Weekes', about 12 that Day; who, in y<sup>e</sup> Even, were bro't before y<sup>e</sup> Justices to give Sureties for their Good Behaviour, and to answer it at y<sup>e</sup> next Sessions. By good Behaviour y<sup>e</sup> Justices meant they should not go to any Meeting. They offered Sureties for their appearance at y<sup>e</sup> Sessions, but they would not accept of that. Therefore Br. Gwillim and others, about ten persons, were sent to

<sup>64</sup> Events recorded here are also detailed from the Quaker viewpoint in *Distressed Case of the People called Quakers in the City of Bristol*, London, 1682.

Newgate, and their Mittimus made for a Breach of y<sup>e</sup> Peace. Brother Gwillim came that morning to a meeting, which y<sup>e</sup> Young men keep under our Meeting-house on a Ld's day morning, and tho' there was none in Exercise, for Br Rob. Lewis had just concluded, Hellier followed Mr. Gwillim in, and clapping him on y<sup>e</sup> Shoulder said, he arrested him in y<sup>e</sup> King's Name; and so carried him to Bridewell.

On Thursday, 22nd Decr. 1681, our Lecture day, as soon as y<sup>e</sup> people came, before we had begun, Hellier, with several Constables, came into our Place, and hindered several from coming in. Then he, and Lewis Harris, a perjured Person, tore down y<sup>e</sup> sides and forepart of y<sup>e</sup> Pulpit, and some of y<sup>e</sup> People's Seats, (tho' but y<sup>e</sup> Week before we paid five pounds that our Place should not be rifled.) Hellier said he would do it unless y<sup>e</sup> People would be gone. Br. Dickason told him, (without y<sup>e</sup> People's consent,) there should be no Meeting that night. Then he went away. But when Br. Terrill came y<sup>e</sup> People followed him up into y<sup>e</sup> Place, and Hellier sent up amongst us some Constables and Watchmen that staid all y<sup>e</sup> while. Harris also came up with a Tankard of strong drink in his hand, and sitting down on y<sup>e</sup> Pulpit-seat, drinks to his Companions an Health to y<sup>e</sup> King, and then smok'd Tobacco, and sung Songs, and jeered us poor People; who sate sorrowfull till our Time was expired, and then departed.

On y<sup>e</sup> 25th Decr. 1681, about 8 in y<sup>e</sup> morning, Hellier, Lugg, Tilly, Jones, Dyer, and some other Constables, came into our Meeting-house before y<sup>e</sup> People were come together. They went into y<sup>e</sup> lower Room, and finding but one man and some Women, sate down, and hindered People from going up. Some People met Br. Terrill in y<sup>e</sup> Street, and told him there was a Company to hinder their Meeting; but he went on, and tho' he saw several Constables with their Staves went up Stairs, and Hellier followed him. They both sate down, and Hellier began to talk to Br. Terrill; but He would not answer him. And by and by y<sup>e</sup> other Constables and y<sup>e</sup> Keeper of y<sup>e</sup> Sun Ale-house came up also, with three Tankards of Strong Drink, and a Toast in one of them, which they put on y<sup>e</sup> Table in our Meeting. Then Hellier taking one of y<sup>e</sup> Tankards drank to Br. Terrill, and would have him to pledge him. Mr. Terrill said, I don't use to drink here. Then, says Hellier, I will. And so they began, and drank to one another, and then called to y<sup>e</sup> Ale-house keeper for Cheese, who sent his Boy to fetch them Bread and Cheese. And while they were eating and drinking, Br Ellis, Tyler, &c., came up. Then Hellier laid hands on Mr. And. Wike, Junr, and sent him away, and several times speaking to Br Tyler, whom he called Cousin, desired him and all of us to depart. He not obeying, Hellier said, I believe you are afraid of Mr. Terrill, lest he should excommunicate you if you do, or who is it that does pronounce y<sup>e</sup> Church Censures here? Thus he passed y<sup>e</sup> Time in his dry Way of Jeering, and then with y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup>

Constables goes to y<sup>e</sup> farther side of y<sup>e</sup> Room towards y<sup>e</sup> street, and there they consult. Then again Hellier, putting off his Hat, commands us in y<sup>e</sup> King's Name to depart; but y<sup>e</sup> People sate still, and did not regard him; then, going down Stairs with his Crew, sent for a Smith, and nailed up both y<sup>e</sup> Doors, and so went to Mr. Gifford's Meeting.

We being thus nailed up began to improve y<sup>e</sup> Time, and first sang a Psalm; then Br Ellis pray'd, and after him Br Terrill spake from 2 Tim. ii. 12. After about an Hour they came again, and broke open y<sup>e</sup> left-hand Door, and came up and took our Names. We askt him, why he nailed us up? He said, to take us into Custody till we were convicted: for tho' we were stubborn, and would not go, they would not be hindered in their Work. Then they bid us depart again, but we, fearing they would keep us out in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, would have staid. Then they began to be angry, fearing their Dinner would be spoiled, clamoured, and began to be rude. So fearing they should charge us with a Riot, B. Ellis desired Hellier to go first, and see whether we would not follow; which we did. And then a Guard of y<sup>e</sup> Night-Watch was ordered to come with their Bills, and keep us out in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon; as they did. Hellier lays hold on his Cousin Tyler to go and dine with him, and said he arrested him if he would not, and threatened he would send over his Conviction. So Br. Tyler went with him. Then Jasper Cause comes and hastens Hellier from Dinner, to go about more Work. Our Meeting and Mr. Weekes' were guarded, and y<sup>e</sup> People flockt to y<sup>e</sup> Door, and stood in y<sup>e</sup> Street. Hellier commands Bro. Tyler to go with him to disturb other Meetings, but Br. Tyler said, he had rather go to Prison than do that; so at y<sup>e</sup> end of y<sup>e</sup> street he let him go. After that, Br Terril came to our Meeting, and y<sup>e</sup> Watchmen let him go up, and several others got up afterwards, y<sup>e</sup> Watchmen being weary. And when y<sup>e</sup> People were come up y<sup>e</sup> Watchmen came up also, and sate down to see who would pray or Preach. Then we sung y<sup>e</sup> 46 Psalm, by a private Sign, each looking in a Book; and then Br. Terrill said we would sing y<sup>e</sup> 36th Psalm. By this Time it was 3 o'clock, and a little after We departed. In y<sup>e</sup> meantime, Hellier had routed Br. Gifford's and y<sup>e</sup> Quakers' meetings. Br. Dickason was taken up that day in y<sup>e</sup> street, and sent first to Bridewell, and afterwards being brought before Aldm. Ollive, was that Evening committed to Newgate.

On y<sup>e</sup> 26th Dec. 1681 (For many years past we had kept a Meeting of Conference on Monday Evening, but had lately spent y<sup>e</sup> Time in Prayer by reason of y<sup>e</sup> Evil times.) Br. Davis began in Prayer, and before he had done Hellier's Constables, Tilly, Lugg, &c., took him before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who commanded his Appearance y<sup>e</sup> next morning. Br. Terrill with others coming afterwards were told what was done, yet Br. Terrill spake from Eph. vi. 18, and Br. Lewis prayed. But as Br. Warren was going to pray, up came y<sup>e</sup> Constables, thundering at y<sup>e</sup> Door with their staves (tho'

it was only latcht.) Y<sup>e</sup> Door being opened they came in, and making a great Noise commanded us three times, in y<sup>e</sup> King's Name, to depart; while Ralph Ollive, jun., then no Constable (but for his officiousness made one 3 days after), hastened away to fetch y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Sr Tho. Earle, who came, with Sheriffs Lane and Knight, Rumsey y<sup>e</sup> Town-Clerk, Capt. Arundell, y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Secretary, and several Serjeants. We were all silent. Y<sup>e</sup> Mayor greatly condemned us for our Meeting, and said this was for nothing but to oppose y<sup>e</sup> Government. And speaking to Br. Terrill to answer, he said, No, may it please your Wp, God forbid we should do any such Thing; but in Obedience to y<sup>e</sup> Lord We had for many years used to meet here to seek his face. Then it was commanded to take our Names, which Ralph Ollive and Sheriff Knight's man did. Some would have y<sup>e</sup> Sheriffs take us into Custody there, but they would not receive us as Prisoners, unless deliver'd to them at their Gaol. Then they discoursed about locking us up there till the morning, which Br. Terrill perceiving spake to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, desiring such Evil Dealing might not be used toward us to lock us up with Women and other Men's Wives. And Mr. Terrill spoke y<sup>e</sup> same to Sheriff Lane, who thereupon spoke to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor. Whereupon they took y<sup>e</sup> Women's Names, and discharged them. We Men desired to go home that night, promising to appear before him on the morrow morning; but it would not be granted. Ralph Olive made a Noise, and urged y<sup>e</sup> Mayor not to take any of us bound for the rest, unless we would find Sureties for our good Behaviour. Then Sheriff Knight, insulting, said to his Br. Sheriff, Have but a good Mind to it, as y<sup>e</sup> King said to me, and y<sup>e</sup> Business will be done. And then he was for sending us to Newgate, saying y<sup>e</sup> King said to him, Sheriff, let y<sup>e</sup> Prison be y<sup>e</sup> Prison. Thus he openly quoted the King's words, but Lane y<sup>e</sup> upper Sheriff would not take charge of us there.

After some Discourse about power to imprison upon y<sup>e</sup> Act of Conventicles, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and y<sup>e</sup> rest left us in y<sup>e</sup> Constable's Custody, who promised to secure us till morning. So They took 13 to Bridewell, and 6 to Newgate, that night. Y<sup>e</sup> next morning we were brought before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, to the Tolzey, who charged us with Breach of y<sup>e</sup> Peace, and would have us find Sureties to appear at y<sup>e</sup> next Quarter Sessions, and for our good Behaviour in the meantime. Y<sup>e</sup> former we were willing to, but not y<sup>e</sup> latter. And we had then Counsr Freak and Mr. Edwards to plead for us before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and urged that We had not broke y<sup>e</sup> Peace, for we sate still and said nothing: only Br. Terrill said, Our Time is near expired, and when it is we shall depart. This y<sup>e</sup> Constables alledged. Our Counsr urged, y<sup>e</sup> Parliament did not look upon such Meeting a Breach of y<sup>e</sup> Peace, for they had made y<sup>e</sup> Penalty for y<sup>e</sup> first time but 5s., which would have been otherwise if they had thought it a Breach of y<sup>e</sup> Peace. Then we thought y<sup>e</sup> Court would have taken Sureties for our appearance only, but Ald.

Ollive insisted still for our good Behaviour also; and y<sup>e</sup> Bp. coming into y<sup>e</sup> Council sate next y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and whispered him. So at last they carried it, that unless we find Sureties for our Behaviour, We must go to Newgate: and accordingly made a Mittimus for 19, viz., Jno. Morgan, Jos. White, Richd. Franklyn, Tim. Brown, Rob. Bodenham, Ed. Terrill, Sam. Hunt, Robt. Newton, Robt. Lewis, Jno. Cornish, Jno Burcome, Richd. Towne, Ben. Warren, Sam. Hunt Taylor, Thos. Lansdone, Jno. Payne, Peter Harris, Jno. Jones, James Child,—4 of them Mr. Gifford's people. We were committed for Breach of y<sup>e</sup> Peace, and not finding Sureties:—See a Copy of y<sup>e</sup> Mittimus in y<sup>e</sup> Wast-Book. They fined Br. Hen. Davis, a Haberdasher in High Street, twenty Pounds, and broke open y<sup>e</sup> Door of his House, and took away near £40 in goods for it.

On Thursday y<sup>e</sup> 29th, our Lecture Day, our friends attempted to go into y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, but there was a Guard to keep them out. And they said they would seize y<sup>e</sup> House for y<sup>e</sup> King, and so put in Watchmen and Lewis Harris, that kept it day and night. And they tore down our Seats and burnt them for firing, and continued drinking in our lower Room till some of them were drunk, and lay along y<sup>e</sup> floor by y<sup>e</sup> fireside. So our friends, being kept out, went to our Br. Lewis', by Philip's Grave-Yard Door, and Br. Jennings preacht to them.

On Friday y<sup>e</sup> 30th, We being above 20 of us in Prison, considered we would keep a Day of Fasting and Prayer. So we did this day, and Br. Fownes our Pastour being also imprisoned, preacht about y<sup>e</sup> middle of y<sup>e</sup> day; and in the close, we sung y<sup>e</sup> 46th psalm; which Geo. Hellier, formerly an Informer, now in Prison for Debt, overhearing, he sent to Sheriff Knight, to let him know we had a Conventicle in Newgate. Upon which y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff, with several Serjeants and Artillery men, came up into y<sup>e</sup> Gallery over against y<sup>e</sup> great Room where we were met, and seeing y<sup>e</sup> Room pretty full was in a great Rage. Br. Terrill reading y<sup>e</sup> Psalm, he commanded us to be silent; so we ceased, And y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff stormed, and called for y<sup>e</sup> Keeper, saying he would turn him out of his Place, for we should not keep Conventicles there. And seeing 2 Gentlewomen there, S. Hollister and a neighbour of hers, who came to visit us, commanded his attendants to take names; but finding no more than them did not proceed. Br. Terrill seeing y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff in such a great rage, said, Y<sup>e</sup> Law did allow a family with 4 more to meet, and We being then but one family might meet. He said we should be lockt up in our Rooms. Capt. Arundell also blaming us, Br. Terrill told him it was contrary to Law to throw us into Prison for Praying only. He said it was not; and pluckt y<sup>e</sup> Act out of his Pocket, but could not find that Power in it. And They all went away in a great Rage.

Jan. 1st. Y<sup>e</sup> next Ld's day our friends out of Prison found our Meeting-house watched, and y<sup>e</sup> Officers had notice of S.



Young's, where else they would have met; but were forced to wander like sheep without a Shepherd. However, about 6 in y<sup>e</sup> evening, they got together at S. Webb's, in Back Street, and Br. Jennings exercised among them. This day Br. Williams's apprentice was sent to Newgate. In y<sup>e</sup> afternoon of this Day, five Men and Lads spent above half an hour in pulling down some window Leaves in our Meeting-house, and then getting 20 more after them went to y<sup>e</sup> Quakers' Meeting-house.

On y<sup>e</sup> 3rd Jan. our Brethren not in Prison kept a day of Prayer at Mr. Young's, in Barton Regis, and were in peace. Y<sup>e</sup> next day we kept a Day of Prayer in Prison, and in y<sup>e</sup> close sang 84 Psalm. Which George Hellier hearing would have come up to disturb us, but some keeping y<sup>e</sup> stairs would not let him. Then he sent for y<sup>e</sup> sheriff, but he did not come.

On y<sup>e</sup> 5th day, our Lecture day, Friends at Liberty met at Br. Sneed's, in y<sup>e</sup> Castle.

On y<sup>e</sup> 8th, being Ld's day, they met near Baptist Mills, in a lane, and Br. Jennings preached. In y<sup>e</sup> evening, about 6, they met at Br. Lewis's.

On y<sup>e</sup> 9th, those in Prison kept another Day of Prayer.

On y<sup>e</sup> 10th, being y<sup>e</sup> Church's monthly Day of Prayer, friends without met at Br. Terrill's; but being discovered by Jasper Cause,—who sent to acquaint Hellier; but in y<sup>e</sup> meantime, a neighbour having acquainted Mrs. Terrill thereof,—they concluded in Prayer, and departed.

On y<sup>e</sup> 11th, being Quarter Sessions, y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff ordered Isaac Dennis, Keeper of Newgate, to bring us Prisoners to y<sup>e</sup> Guildhall. We had been above 40, but some made friends and got out; but about 25 of us were brought to y<sup>e</sup> hall. We had fee'd Messrs. Pollett and Hagget, of Bristol, counsrs., Mr. Freake, of London, Counr.; Mr. Jos. Tyley, Barrister, Mr. Edwards and Rich. Higgins, Attorneys, to appear for us. There were on y<sup>e</sup> Bench Sr Tho. Earle, Mayor, Sr Rob. Yeamans, Sr Rich. Crump, Aldm. Olive and Hicks, Sr Robert Cann, Sr Richd. Harte, and y<sup>e</sup> Bishop. These, with y<sup>e</sup> Town-Clerk, were for continuing us in Prison; but our Counsel prevailed, upon giving Securities to appear from day to day, to answer and traverse such Inditements that were against us. Mr. Jer. Holloway and Mr. Tho. Scroop were bound for us all, £20 apiece; and paying Prison fees we were discharged. But our Pastour still kept in Prison, and not brought to y<sup>e</sup> Hall.

Y<sup>e</sup> next morning We, and y<sup>e</sup> rest of our Brethren, met at Br. Gwillim's, to consider what we should do. They that came out of Prison were for meeting at our Publick Place; tho' y<sup>e</sup> People belonging to y<sup>e</sup> other Meetings had all left their Places, and met privately. Only y<sup>e</sup> Quakers, whose meeting was nail'd up, met in y<sup>e</sup> long Entry and Court by their Place. Y<sup>e</sup> most of our Brethren were for meeting privately also; for y<sup>e</sup> Persecutors went up and down to men's Shops to rifle and distrein their Goods, having

convictions and warrants from y<sup>e</sup> Mayor; and if they could not get in would bring Sledges and break open y<sup>e</sup> Doors, and carrying away their Goods would sell them at what Rate they pleased. We therefore consented to meet privately also where we could, and to alter our Lecture to Wednesday Evening. We met that Evening at Br. Towne's, next door to Newgate, in y<sup>e</sup> Castle Precincts.

On Ld's day, 15th Jan., we met at Br. Terrill's, coming in at y<sup>e</sup> Back door, over y<sup>e</sup> Fields, between 7 and 8 in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and continued till near one in Peace. Br. Jennings and Terrill preacht, and Br. Lewis pray'd.

On Wednesday, y<sup>e</sup> 19th, our Lecture Day, we met in Br. Fownes' house, which was built by Mr. Ewins, and being great part of us assembled, there was Information given; upon which Capt. Arundell, y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Register, and Constables of Castle Ward, with Parson Heath, dispersed themselves all about y<sup>e</sup> Castle, to hearken if they could hear any one Pray or Preach in those Precincts, where they were told there was a Meeting. We had notice of it, and were desired to disperse. So some went away, getting out at y<sup>e</sup> Back door; but many staid, and making fast y<sup>e</sup> Doors continued in Prayer and Exhortation for about an hour and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and went away, being not found out.

On y<sup>e</sup> 22nd, being Ld's day, we met at Br. Terrill's, at y<sup>e</sup> upper end of Redcross Lane, about 6 and 7 in y<sup>e</sup> morning. But while Mr. Enoch Prosser, a Gifted Br. belonging to Mr. Keech of London, who came to our Fair, was preaching, about ten, Hellier, Sheriff Knight, Bp's Register, and Constables came, to y<sup>e</sup> number of about 20. Y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff and Hellier with others knock at y<sup>e</sup> Street Door, but none answered. And they sent to Tilly's for an Iron Crow, wherewith they broke some Battens, but could not enter after much Labour. Others of them laboured hard with a Bar at y<sup>e</sup> Back door, but could not get in. Then Edw. Summers, a vile young man, a Butcher, with others, got into Capt. Vaughan's Orchard behind y<sup>e</sup> House; but neither They, nor those at y<sup>e</sup> Street Door, could get in. They behind broke a Window and its Shutter, driving y<sup>e</sup> Bar into y<sup>e</sup> Room where Several people were. Br. Terrill offered to open y<sup>e</sup> Doors if they would stay till he had tyed up his mastiff dog, but they would not. So he let them alone, till, after much fruitless Labour, they were willing to accept his offer. He opened y<sup>e</sup> Back door, and they that came in there let in their Gang at y<sup>e</sup> Street door; and one of them threatened to shoot y<sup>e</sup> Dog, which they saw tied, and strove to come at them.

Then Jno. Hellier arrested Mr. Terrill in y<sup>e</sup> King's Name, and he and others would have haled him away; but y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff bid them let him alone at present. So they took y<sup>e</sup> Women's names, and let them go all but three; and y<sup>e</sup> Men's names, and dismissed them all but 8, who with y<sup>e</sup> 3 Women and Br. Terrill were sent to Newgate; viz., Mr. Samuel Crispe of London, Mr. Enoch Prosser

of do., Tho. Jennings, Th. Child, Jos. Bryan, Jos. White, Robt. Lewis, Mr. Nelson, Mrs. Rachel Groome of London, Dorothy Smith, Eliz. Gwilliam. When They came to Newgate, they demanded a Copy of their Commitment and Detainder, which was promised them by y<sup>e</sup> Keeper. But about  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour after 4 in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, they were brought before Alderman Ollive, at y<sup>e</sup> 3 Tuns Tavern, (and not before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor.) There were some Attorneys there, but y<sup>e</sup> Aldm. would let neither of them stay to speak for them. Then an Information in Writing was read and sworn to, importing that there was an unlawfull Assembly of above 3 score persons in y<sup>e</sup> House of Edw. Terrill, who for some time denied them Entrance who came to keep his Majesty's Peace, &c. They would have Mr. Terrill to give bond and Sureties for Appearance, and good Behaviour. Y<sup>e</sup> latter he would not do, because if a man goes once to a Meeting afterwards they count it a Breach of his Bond. Therefore Aldm. Olive, and Aldm. Crump, who also came in and was not very willing to act, signed a Mittimus for Mr. Terrill, who was taken away to Newgate accordingly. And y<sup>e</sup> 3 Women were that night discharged, and y<sup>e</sup> Men, being bound one for another to appear y<sup>e</sup> next morning at y<sup>e</sup> Tolzey, were sent home.

Hellier and Knight were in haste, because they heard there was a Meeting privately in y<sup>e</sup> Castle; to which therefore they went about 6 y<sup>e</sup> same Evening, and break open y<sup>e</sup> Doors, endeavouring with great Fury to seize Mr. Young y<sup>e</sup> Preacher, but could not; for while they were getting in, he, with others, got out at a Window, and escaped through a house into Castle Street. Then Hellier and y<sup>e</sup> sheriff break down y<sup>e</sup> Pulpit, and bid y<sup>e</sup> Boys and Rabble take care of y<sup>e</sup> Windows; which they understood, and broke them all to pieces. When they were weary, they left a Watch in y<sup>e</sup> Meeting-house all Night, and y<sup>e</sup> next Day Defaced and ruined it, as they had done ours before.

Y<sup>e</sup> next morning Jan. 23rd, 1681, y<sup>e</sup> other of our Brethren and y<sup>e</sup> Londoners appearing at y<sup>e</sup> Tolzey, and having by Br. Terrill's care Mr. Edwards y<sup>e</sup> Attorney to speak for them, upon taking each of them y<sup>e</sup> Oath of Allegiance, were dismissed; and Br. Jennings being one of them was at Liberty to preach to y<sup>e</sup> People.

On y<sup>e</sup> 25th, being our Lecture Day, they had a Meeting at Six in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 27th day of y<sup>e</sup> Month, John Hellier and others went into y<sup>e</sup> Fair that then was, and distrained Mr. Enoch Prosser y<sup>e</sup> Londoner's Goods, to y<sup>e</sup> value of £40 for £10; and of Mr. Crisp, of Hats, near £10. Thus they suffered for being at that Meeting.

On y<sup>e</sup> 29th day, y<sup>e</sup> 29th, y<sup>e</sup> Church that were at Liberty appointed 4 places to meet in; viz. with Br. Davis at Mr. Ellis's, with Br. Clark at Br. Richard Towne's, with Rob. Lewis at Mr. Bodenham's, with Br. Dickason at widow Bush's, in y<sup>e</sup> Shambles, all at Six in y<sup>e</sup> Evening. Br. Jennings was at S. Clark's in Broad-street, in y<sup>e</sup>

Afternoon; and many of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation went in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon on Durdham Down, and got into a Cave of a Rock towards Clifton, where Br. Th. Whinnell preachd to them; and divers of Mr. Weekes' People assembled with them, and spent 2 hours in peace. Y<sup>e</sup> Constables hunted y<sup>e</sup> fields for them, but found them not.

Our Pastour, Mr. Fownes, having sent for a *Habeas Corpus*, it came down by Post (January 30th), with a Latitat, a Made Debt for £150 to one in London; which writ of Latitat y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff was 1st served with y<sup>e</sup> same Day. Y<sup>e</sup> next day y<sup>e</sup> under Sheriff was served with y<sup>e</sup> Habeas Corpus, and on y<sup>e</sup> first of Febry Mr. Fownes was sent up Prisoner to y<sup>e</sup> King's Bench bar, to appear y<sup>e</sup> 6th or 7th instant. Providence ordering that a friend, Mr. Nath. Wade, was then going to London, y<sup>e</sup> sheriff, to save Charge, suffered Mr. Fownes to go with him, there being a bond of £500 first given by Mr. Tho. Scrope, Mr. Terrill, and Mr. Daniel Gwillim, to Sheriff Knight, that he should not escape, but return if remanded. But altho' this Bond was given, yet y<sup>e</sup> cruel Sheriff would not give Mr. Fownes Leave to lye one night at Home before he went, nor go into his House when he went by his own Door y<sup>e</sup> next morning for London; but ordered y<sup>e</sup> Keeper to bring him to Lawford's Gate, and there deliver him to y<sup>e</sup> under Sheriff, who gave a Deputation to Mr. Wade to see him safely delivered in London. And there they took Horse, it being a cold, searching, windy Day, very bitter Weather, and dangerous to Mr. Fownes, who had been kept close Prisoner 6 weeks and 3 days.

On y<sup>e</sup> 2nd instant, being Thursday, to which we changed our Lecture, for y<sup>e</sup> conveniency of y<sup>e</sup> Castle People, met at Br. Nath. Sneed's in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 4th y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Sr Thos Earle, sent one of his officers to bring Br. Terrill from Prison before him, and there being one Mr. Young, a Papist, with y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Sr Thos seemed very kind, and would make Br. Terrill's own House his Prison, if he would not keep Conventicles there. To which Br. Terrill reply'd, It was God's Command that we should assemble ourselves, and therefore he could not promise y<sup>e</sup> contrary. Y<sup>e</sup> Mayor said, he thought Mr. Terrill had been a more prudent Man. To which Mr. Terrill, True wisdom is to fear God, and obey him. Y<sup>e</sup> Mayor said, he would not enter into any Dispute with him, but said, 'This is nothing but perverseness and Rebellion against y<sup>e</sup> Government, and you think to make y<sup>e</sup> Government stoop to you. But let me tell you it is your Mistake, for there are such Things providing that will make you subject; they will take a Course with such obstinate Persons as you are. And if you will not accept of my kindness, you may lye in jayl. And when y<sup>e</sup> Sessions come in April next, y<sup>e</sup> Same Thing, and others also, will be required of you, and a Course taken with your Estates. Y<sup>e</sup> Times are not now as they were 2 years ago.' And then Sr Robt Cann came in, and began to dissuade Mr. Terrill from Meetings also. To whom he replied,

That in Faithfulness to y<sup>e</sup> Lord he must be in his Duty. So Sr Robt ceased. But y<sup>e</sup> Mayor insisted upon Mr. Terrill's engaging; but he would not. Then y<sup>e</sup> Mayor said he must to Newgate again; and bid him good night. So as Mr. Terrill went out into y<sup>e</sup> Hall from y<sup>e</sup> Parlour, Mrs. Sheriff Lane and y<sup>e</sup> Mayor's sister Mrs. Allen came forth, and endeavoured to perswade Mr. Terrill to promise y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and not go to prison again. But Br. Terrill said he would not, let y<sup>e</sup> Mayor do what he would with him. Then Mrs. Sheriff said She would have him home to her house, and he should be a Prisoner there. Mr. Terrill thank'd her for her kindness, but told her 'Twould be too great a Trouble. Y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff also offer'd that; but at last prevailed with y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and sent him Prisoner to his own House about ten at night.

On y<sup>e</sup> fifth, our Friends met in 4 parts, one near Bustleton, y<sup>e</sup> others in Town; two of which were in Peace, and y<sup>e</sup> other in Town was discovered, and they were obliged to disperse.

On y<sup>e</sup> 7th, y<sup>e</sup> usual Day of Prayer, they met at Cutler's Mill.—Y<sup>e</sup> Pastour was to be brought to his Trial this Day at y<sup>e</sup> K's Bench Bar.—But they were forced to disperse before y<sup>e</sup> Day was ended.

On y<sup>e</sup> 9th, they had their Lecture at Widow Brewer's, in Gloucester Road, without y<sup>e</sup> Gate, and were in Peace.

On Ld's day, y<sup>e</sup> 12th, they met, part with Mr. Whinnell, near y<sup>e</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  way house going to Bustleton, and y<sup>e</sup> rest with Br Jennings at Sr. Young's; and, by going a great way about to y<sup>e</sup> places, were in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 16th, y<sup>e</sup> Lecture at Br. Towne's, near Newgate, in Peace. Y<sup>e</sup> same day we heard our Pastour, Mr. Fownes, was cleared in London, because his Mittimus was faulty; but was bound by Mr. Sayer, y<sup>e</sup> Attorney-Genl, to appear y<sup>e</sup> 1st Day of next Term, to answer for living in a Corporation, and holding a Conventicle there.

On y<sup>e</sup> 19th, being Ld's day, y<sup>e</sup> Congregation met in 4 places, in and out of Town, in Peace. And besides these general meetings, there were many for old and sickly people, 4 besides y<sup>e</sup> family, in y<sup>e</sup> most convenient houses where more Members than one lived. On y<sup>e</sup> same day, Br. Terrill, being a Prisoner in his own House as above said, had but three besides his Family whom he endeavoured to instruct. And y<sup>e</sup> while, Sheriff Knight, Capt. Arundell, Brand y<sup>e</sup> Bishop's Sec. and Reg., and some Constables, with a great Rabble, surrounded y<sup>e</sup> House, and some got over y<sup>e</sup> Wall, and hearkened, and at last Broke y<sup>e</sup> Windows, and knockt, and when they got entrance narrowly searched every Room of y<sup>e</sup> House, but could not find their Prey. But two of them said they would swear there were twenty there, and that they had got over y<sup>e</sup> Wall, because some Stones were loose; which they themselves had occasioned by getting over it as above.

On y<sup>e</sup> 23rd Day, being our Lecture Day, they kept as a day of

prayer at Mr. Jos. Jackson's over Durdham Down, and were in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 26th Day, being Ld's Day, they kept 2 Meetings in y<sup>e</sup> Fields, and were in Peace.

March 2nd.—Y<sup>e</sup> Lecture Day; they had a Meeting at Br. Gwillim's in Lewen's Mead in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 3d Mr. Fownes came to Bath in his way to Bristol, to visit his Congregation privately.

On y<sup>e</sup> 5th, being Ld's day, our Congregation and Br. Gifford's, met together near Bustleton. Br. Whinnell preached in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and Br. Gifford in y<sup>e</sup> evening, both in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 8th, Br. Whinnell informed us, he had some years ago been dismissed from a church at Christ's-church, in Dorsetshire, to a people here in Bristol walking with one Mr. Kitchen, which were then dissolved, and therefore desires communion with us.

On y<sup>e</sup> 9th, y<sup>e</sup> Lecture Day, met at Widow Brewer's in Gloucr Lane, in peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 12th, Ld's day, met in y<sup>e</sup> fields by Barton hundred, and Mr. Sam. Buttall of Plymouth preacht in y<sup>e</sup> fore part of y<sup>e</sup> day, and Br. Whinnell in y<sup>e</sup> Evening. It was thought there were near 1000 people in y<sup>e</sup> morning. Y<sup>e</sup> Tything-man came to save his £5, passed thro' them, and waited at a Distance till they had done. This afternoon, Mr. Weakes was taken in James' Yard, before y<sup>e</sup> Afternoon Meeting, by Hellier. They had him before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who was going to Wasborough's, and took Mr. Weekes along with him.

On Monday, y<sup>e</sup> 13th, because of y<sup>e</sup> Persecution, y<sup>e</sup> Church met at Mr. Jackson's Park house, over Durdham Down, and Mr. Fownes preacht and administered y<sup>e</sup> Ld's Supper. Some at first scrupled receiving on a Week-day, but Mr. Fownes satisfied them from several Considerations; particularly that it is in Scripture tied to no Day, and was first instituted and administered by our Lord on Fryday. At this meeting S. Nicholas, having been baptized before, was recd to Communion. It was a rainy morning, and afterwards Snow; but y<sup>e</sup> greatest part of y<sup>e</sup> Church got thither notwithstanding.

On y<sup>e</sup> 16th, y<sup>e</sup> Lecture in y<sup>e</sup> fields, in Peace; though a Bayliff's man stood and lookt on.

On y<sup>e</sup> 19th, being Ld's day, met in y<sup>e</sup> Lanes beyond Baptist Mill. Mr. Buttall preacht. Near 1000 people. Parson Pledwell went by before they began; and in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, being met a little beyond lower Easton, y<sup>e</sup> Constables came. Br. Buttall ceased a while, and one of y<sup>e</sup> Constables, when they had pass'd thro', cry'd, O yes! and commanded them in y<sup>e</sup> King's name to depart. So they went a little farther, and were in Peace. Br. Jennings preached to several aged, &c., at Mr. Gay's, in Small Street, and they also were in peace, y<sup>e</sup> same afternoon. And so they were y<sup>e</sup> next Lecture Day, at 8 in y<sup>e</sup> evening, at S. Clarke's in Broad Street.

On y<sup>e</sup> 26th, being Ld's day, they were near Busselton, on Somersetshire-side, and in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon joined Br. Gifford's people. There were thought to be about 1500 people there. And their adversaries lookt on, but being on y<sup>e</sup> other side, could not come at them. On y<sup>e</sup> next Day, Sheriff Knight came home from New-market, where he had been with y<sup>e</sup> King and Duke, and had been Knighted.

Y<sup>e</sup> Lecture on y<sup>e</sup> 30th was near Stapleton, in Peace. Br. Jennings preacht. And so they were on April 2nd, being Ld's day, tho' Summers, y<sup>e</sup> Informer, was searching for them, and was once very near them, but saw them not.

On Friday, y<sup>e</sup> 7th, they met near y<sup>e</sup> Boarden-house, at Mr. Wickham's. Spent y<sup>e</sup> former part of y<sup>e</sup> Day in Prayer; then brother Fownes preacht, and administered y<sup>e</sup> Ld's Supper, in Peace. At this time, Br. Whinnell, being a Member nowhere, because y<sup>e</sup> Church to which he last belong'd was dissolved, declared y<sup>e</sup> work of God upon his soul; and professing to believe y<sup>e</sup> principles' contained in y<sup>e</sup> *Baptist Confession of Faith*,<sup>65</sup> 1667, and to be against Free-Will, which was held by y<sup>e</sup> church to which he had belonged, and also saying washing feet was not his Judgment, he was recd into Fellowship.

On y<sup>e</sup> 9th Day, being Ld's Day, they met at upper Knowl. But y<sup>e</sup> informers having notice of it, got Constables and Boys from Bedminster, and would not let them meet. But it being very wet, they went after some Time to an Ale-house; and y<sup>e</sup> While, y<sup>e</sup> people met at some distance, and endured y<sup>e</sup> rain. It was supposed y<sup>e</sup> Informers hoped to have met with Mr. Fownes, but he was not there. Bro. Whinnell preacht.

On y<sup>e</sup> 13th, (Lecture Day) They met in y<sup>e</sup> Rain, in a Lane, and Br. Jennings preacht to them in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 14th, Mr. Hancock, who had formerly preacht several times, was cast into prison, for having preacht within this City, within 7 years last past.

On y<sup>e</sup> 20th, A Day of Prayer from nine to 5 in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, at Mr. Jackson's over y<sup>e</sup> Down, in Peace. This day Dan Barnett declared y<sup>e</sup> Work of God on his Soul to y<sup>e</sup> Ruling Elders, y<sup>e</sup> Pastour being at London against y<sup>e</sup> Term. And there being about 30 Aged and weak persons of y<sup>e</sup> Church that could not go into y<sup>e</sup> fields, this Day, agreed that 7 Brethren, viz. Ellis, Terrill, Dickason, Clark, Cornish, Rob. Lewis, James Lewis, should every one take 4, and preach or *exercise* what gifts they had, on Lord's day, either 8 in y<sup>e</sup> morning, or at 5 in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, for 2 hours' Space, that they might be built up, &c.

On y<sup>e</sup> 23rd, being Ld's day, met near y<sup>e</sup> Boarden-house, and

<sup>65</sup> No Confession of Faith of this date is known. It is likely that Terrill is referring to the Particular Baptist Confession of Faith for 1677, which was a standard test of orthodoxy among Particular Baptist Churches of the time.

Br. Whinnell preached in Peace; but met a Constable as they were coming home only.

Y<sup>e</sup> next Lecture near Baptist Mill, and Br. Jennings preacht in peace also. Br. Terrill being discharged from Prison at y<sup>e</sup> Quarter Sessions, was bound to appear, *De Die in Diem*, to traverse such inditements as might be brought against him; as were also Mr. Marsh, Love, Goldney, Harford, Pierce, Weekes, and others.

On y<sup>e</sup> 30th, Ld's Day, We met, because of y<sup>e</sup> great rain, at Mr. Young's; Br. Jennings preacht. 2 officers knockt at y<sup>e</sup> Door, and desired to come in to drink, but Mr. Young, going himself to y<sup>e</sup> Door, threw them Sixpence, and bid them not stand in y<sup>e</sup> Rain. So we were in peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 4th May, 1682, Information was brought to a petty Sessions for Gloucestershire against Br. Jennings, for preaching in y<sup>e</sup> Lanes, and a Warrant granted for levying £5, or else Goods, or person. And they came to execute it where he used to lodge, but he was married about 14 dayes before, and went to live at Sodbury; so escaped, but was forced to abscond.

Y<sup>e</sup> next Ld's Day, and Lecture Day, being a Day of Prayer, we were in Peace. Br. Whinnell preacht.

On Lord's day, May 14, 1682, met in King's wood, in y<sup>e</sup> way to Hanham, and Br. Whinnell preacht in peace. On y<sup>e</sup> Lecture day, also, y<sup>e</sup> 18th, Br. Jennings preacht in peace; only 3 Boys and 2 Maids of Esqr. Brown's y<sup>e</sup> Collier, came and Scoffed.

On y<sup>e</sup> 20th, S. Shuter departed, and was interred at Redclift.

On y<sup>e</sup> 21st, (Ld's Day), met in y<sup>e</sup> fields, in Peace. Only Mr. Brown y<sup>e</sup> Collier's man came in Sermon Time, and observed y<sup>e</sup> Preacher, Br. Jennings. But as y<sup>e</sup> friends came into Town again, some Informers and Constables met them, and examined where they had been. And because they would not tell them said they had been at a Conventicle, and they would send them to Bridewell, and took y<sup>e</sup> Names and Places of Abode of some; ordering them to appear before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor y<sup>e</sup> next morning. And Mrs. Owin y<sup>e</sup> under-Chamberlain's Wife, Mr. Joyner, Mr. Hart's and Mr. Doleman's Maids, and Dr. Griffen's Daughter were put in Newgate, and kept there from 4 in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon till about 7; when old Sr John Knight hearing of it ordered them to be dismissed, on promise of appearing y<sup>e</sup> next morning before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, if called for. Mrs. Betty at Mr. Hart's was abused by Hellier in y<sup>e</sup> street, and had her Sarcenet Whood<sup>66</sup> torn, because she would not tell him where she had been.

On y<sup>e</sup> 25th Day, being y<sup>e</sup> Lecture, Br. Whinnell preacht in Stapleton Lanes in Peace.

On Ld's day, y<sup>e</sup> 28th, Mr. David Jones of Swansea preacht to us in Gassen Lanes in Peace. Only some men, said to be Officers

<sup>66</sup> Sarcenet Whood, i.e., A hood lined with a very fine and soft silk material.



of Stapleton, talkt hard, and threatened to pull Stakes out of y<sup>e</sup> Hedge and drive us away; but there was a Multitude thronging y<sup>e</sup> Lane, so they did not disturb us.

On y<sup>e</sup> 29th, being y<sup>e</sup> King's Birth-day, We resolved to keep a Day at Mr. Jackson's, over y<sup>e</sup> Down. But Sandford, an Innkeeper at Westbury, hearing of our Meeting, sent y<sup>e</sup> Bayliff of y<sup>e</sup> hundred and  $\frac{1}{2}$  a dozen more to disturb us, after we had spent about 3 hours. When they came into y<sup>e</sup> Court, Aldm. Yate's Wife advised us to retire into y<sup>e</sup> Garden and disperse. So we did, and met again in a Valley on Durdham Down, and continued in Peace till about 5, having said Mr. David Jones also with us.

On y<sup>e</sup> 31st, about 10 in y<sup>e</sup> Morning, when y<sup>e</sup> Quarter Sessions were about fineing y<sup>e</sup> Dissenters, a great Thunder-Cloud made it dark in y<sup>e</sup> Court for about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour, to y<sup>e</sup> Wonder of many. Br. Gwillim, then at sea, and Br. Messenger, were fined for being at a meeting in Dec. last; Br. Gwillim five pounds, and Br. Messenger ten shillings. Hellier also swore against Br. Warren, and y<sup>e</sup> Jury thereon brought him in Guilty, and he was fined ten shillings tho' he was not there; and all to lye in prison till They had paid their fines and fees. Y<sup>e</sup> same Day Mr. Weeks, y<sup>e</sup> Minister, was sent to prison on y<sup>e</sup> Oxford 5 Mile Act. They accused him of being with us on y<sup>e</sup> Down, but he was not there. Y<sup>e</sup> next day, Br. Hunt, Bodenham, Cornish, were fined ten shill. a man for being at a Meeting of Prayer, and fees, which made it 33s. or 34s. apiece. And Br. Dickason was fined a Noble, altho' he was not there, but was in prison; being carried away y<sup>e</sup> day before to Newgate. And besides this, they had a Warrant against him for 10 Pounds for another Meeting, and that Day one of Hellier's Constables seized his 3 Horses; and Sher. Knight threatened to imprison Br. Terrill on y<sup>e</sup> Oxford Act for Preaching.

Br. Whinnell preached y<sup>e</sup> lecture on y<sup>e</sup> 4th, and y<sup>e</sup> next Lord's day, Br. Dav. Jones preacht in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 6th, We kept a Day from 9 till 5, and were in Peace. And we heard our Br. Fownes had been discharged at y<sup>e</sup> K's Bench, in London.

On our Lecture Day, y<sup>e</sup> 8th, Br. Whinnell preacht in Peace.

On Ld's day, y<sup>e</sup> 11th, Br. Fownes, being come from London, but not daring to come into y<sup>e</sup> City because of y<sup>e</sup> Corporation Act, met with us and preacht in K's Wood, near Scruze Hole, under a Tree, and endured y<sup>e</sup> Rain.

On y<sup>e</sup> 15th, (Lecture day), Br. J. Sparling, from Ireland, preacht to us in Peace, in Gassen Lanes.

On y<sup>e</sup> 18th, being Ld's day, Br. Fownes preacht to us again in K's Wood, in Peace, tho' on Bussleton side there was a Company of Train-Bands out to find Meetings.

On y<sup>e</sup> 22nd, We gave warning to our Landlord, Tovy, that we should leave our Meeting-house, being kept out of it by Force.

On y<sup>e</sup> 25th our Pastor preacht to us in K's Wood in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 28th Danl Barnett was baptized.

On the 2d July (Ld's Day), Our Pastor preacht in another place in y<sup>e</sup> Wood. Our friends took much Pains in y<sup>e</sup> Rain, because many Informers were ordered out to search; and we were in Peace, tho' there were near 20 men and boys in search. And afterwards y<sup>e</sup> Informers, missing of y<sup>e</sup> Meetings, went to Lawford's Gate, and took y<sup>e</sup> Names of some of Mr. Weeks' People on their Return, and said they should pay for y<sup>e</sup> Rest.

On y<sup>e</sup> 6th, Sr. Sarah Lord, daughter to Sr. Young, was interred at our Burying-Place.

On y<sup>e</sup> 9th, being Lord's day, Br. Fownes preacht in one place of y<sup>e</sup> Wood, and Br. Whinnell in another, and we were in peace. Tho. Powell, Justice Meridith's man, and Cossil y<sup>e</sup> high Constable, with many Constables, warn'd and threaten'd y<sup>e</sup> Day before by Powell, rode and walked about y<sup>e</sup> Wood till they were weary. And Powell saw several of our friends about Scruze Hole, that had been at y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, but did not know them.

On y<sup>e</sup> 13th, kept a Day of Prayer with Mr. Fownes at Mr. Jackson's, and were in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 16th, Br. Fownes first and Br. Whinnell after preacht under a Tree, it being very rainy. And then y<sup>e</sup> Church got to Mr. Young's, and brake bread, and several of y<sup>e</sup> Castle people with us, in Peace. And so we were on y<sup>e</sup> 23rd.

On y<sup>e</sup> 30th we were hunted from Place to place in y<sup>e</sup> Wood, and our Meeting, tho' our Pastor and Br. Whinnell escaped, and at Times preacht to us. Tho' Powell went about having a Warrant from Six Justices, and Constables with him, but thro' mercy did only hunt us; and a Multitude of People heard y<sup>e</sup> Word notwithstanding.

On y<sup>e</sup> sixth Aug., being Ld's day, We met in K's Wood twice, in 2 different Places, and our Pastour preacht twice to us in Peace; tho' we were told in y<sup>e</sup> morning great Trouble would befall us that Day.

On y<sup>e</sup> 9th, We had a Day of Prayer, kept in y<sup>e</sup> open Wood from 9 to 4, where Six pray'd, and 2 preacht, our Pastour one of them, in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 13th, our Pastour preacht in y<sup>e</sup> Wood, and afterwards broke bread at Mr. Young's, in Peace. But Hellier and y<sup>e</sup> rest were busy that Day, and shut up y<sup>e</sup> Gates; and kept watch at y<sup>e</sup> Ware, and behind St. Phillip's, in y<sup>e</sup> morning to prevent any going out, and in y<sup>e</sup> Evening to catch them coming in; and took up several in y<sup>e</sup> Evening as Vagrants on y<sup>e</sup> Lds' day; and sent some to Newgate, and some to Bridewell; watching till 7 in y<sup>e</sup> Evening for that purpose.

On y<sup>e</sup> 20th, met above Scruze Hole, in our old Place, and heard Br. Fownes preach twice in Peace. Br. Terrill had caused a Workman to make Banks on y<sup>e</sup> side of y<sup>e</sup> hill to sit down on, several of them, like a Gallery. And there we met also on y<sup>e</sup> 27th in Peace.

And both Days we sang a Psalm in y<sup>e</sup> open Wood. Our Pastour withdrew this week, because of y<sup>e</sup> Assizes and Quarter Sessions. Sevl of our Brethren were fined this Sessions, for Being at a Meeting of Prayer in Janry last, some ten, and some twenty shillings, and their fees.

On y<sup>e</sup> 6 of 7ber, y<sup>e</sup> last day of y<sup>e</sup> ¼ Sessions, Br. Terrill did not appear, according to his Recognizance, because Knight threaten'd to cast him in Prison on y<sup>e</sup> Oxford Act; and is therefore in danger of being sued to an Outlawry, having none bound but himself.

On y<sup>e</sup> 14th kept a day of Prayer with our Pastour, at Horvill, where y<sup>e</sup> People were surpriz'd to see so many come, having not been us'd to Meetings. We were at S. Comb's; and some bad persons procured y<sup>e</sup> Officers to disturb us; but when they were come to y<sup>e</sup> Court-Yard, our S. Combs went out to them, and reason'd with them, so that they said, if they might come and search y<sup>e</sup> House, so they could say there was nobody there, they would go away again. So we all went out at y<sup>e</sup> Back door; and they searcht, and departed. And we spent y<sup>e</sup> Day in Peace, and took a declaration from Mr. Foster, and Saml. Hunt Taylour, who were both baptiz'd by Br. Jennings, on y<sup>e</sup> 15th, at Noon day.

On y<sup>e</sup> 17th Br. Fownes preached first in y<sup>e</sup> Wood, and afterwards broke bread at Mr. Young's. Powell and others were about y<sup>e</sup> Wood, but were too late for us; but met with some of Mr. Gifford's People, and threatened to send them to Gloucester Gaol, but they could not find Mr. Gifford. They were near Mr. Gardner, that preacht for Mr. Weeks, but he got over y<sup>e</sup> Water at St. Ann's, and escaped. Hellier and y<sup>e</sup> Constables stopt several as they were going out of Town in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and carried them away to Prison, saying they were going to rebellious Meetings. Mr. Waliern's Wife particularly was put in Newgate.

On y<sup>e</sup> 25th, S. Moyer decd, and was buried in our Burying-place.

On y<sup>e</sup> 28th, Mr. Burgess of Marlborough preacht to us, near Scruze Hole, in Peace. It was our Lecture Day. There also we met several other Days, and kept a Day of Prayer in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 19th Oct., our Sr. Nicholas, in y<sup>e</sup> Marsh, departed, and was buried in our Burying-Place.

On y<sup>e</sup> 22nd, being Ld's day, our Pastour preacht in our Wood Gallery in Peace; but Hellier, Tyly, &c., watched for y<sup>e</sup> people's coming back at Lawford's Gate, &c., and caught aged Br. Reeves, and a maid, and an Apprentice, and carried them to Newgate without Mittimus. And y<sup>e</sup> next morning, being brought before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, an Oath was put to them to answer such questions as should be put to them, and to say y<sup>e</sup> whole Truth, &c.; and because y<sup>e</sup> Maid and Boy did not answer fully as they would have them, and tell who was at y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, and who preacht, &c., they were sent to Newgate again. At y<sup>e</sup> same time, also, they sent for Mr. John Towne, y<sup>e</sup> Schoolmaster, from his own house,

before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and offered to swear him as an Informer, and, he refusing, sent him to Newgate by a Mittimus.

On 5th November, (Ld's day), there being a very severe Warrant under y<sup>e</sup> Hands of 4 Justices given to search for Meetings, We met beyond Conham, and our Pastour preacht in Peace. *Laus Deo*.

On y<sup>e</sup> 16th Day we met in Peace, and Mr. Fownes preacht in Conham House, which we had lately taken for that End, and to break bread in, and keep Days of Prayer, as also to Shelter from Rain. We had all this While met for Prayer at some of our friends' houses, on every Tuesday night, and now ventured, on y<sup>e</sup> 23rd, to keep our Lecture at Br. Bodenham's in y<sup>e</sup> Castle, he having lately married Mrs. Ewins, Widow to John, our former Pastour's son.

On y<sup>e</sup> 26th, we met at our usual Place, but were disturb'd by Powell, Justice Meridith's clark, who hunted thro' y<sup>e</sup> Wood, principally in Hopes of catching Mr. Weekes, who had by Habeas Corpus been moved to London, and there lately discharged at y<sup>e</sup> K's Bench Bar.

On y<sup>e</sup> 7th of Decr, we met for our Lecture at Mr. Shuter's on Redclift Hill in peace, taking a great deal of Care in going and coming, y<sup>e</sup> Women wearing neither White aprons nor Pattens.<sup>67</sup>

On Saturday, y<sup>e</sup> 16th, Sr. Joan Wheeler was baptized by Mr. Fownes at Mr. Young's, and was recd y<sup>e</sup> next day at Conham House, where we had y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper. And there, on y<sup>e</sup> 26th, We had a Day of Prayer in Peace, blessed be God! and not like this Day 12 month, when 20 were sent to Prison, and he that was at Prayer had £20 worth of Goods taken from him.

On y<sup>e</sup> 30th, Sr. Joan Rawlings deceased.

On y<sup>e</sup> 11th Janry, at Conham House, which we had taken for 2 years, being a Day of Prayer, we gave Br. Jennings a letter of Recommendation to y<sup>e</sup> Church at Sodbury.

On y<sup>e</sup> 14th Janry, 1682-3, being Ld's day, we met at our usual Place in y<sup>e</sup> Wood at 9 in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and broke up at 11, having intelligence of our Enemies' Design to come at 12. And accordingly three Justices, Sr John Newton, Player, and Meredith, with about 10 more Officers on horseback, rode along y<sup>e</sup> Wood by y<sup>e</sup> River's side to Search for us; but all were gone, so that they found none of y<sup>e</sup> 3 Meetings. Several Officers also out of y<sup>e</sup> City, with Ralph Olive, came to help them, and as Ollive returned he met with a youth, Wm. Ricketts, belonging to us, and began to charge him for being at a Meeting; but 2 young fellows, Colliers, hearing, threatened him if he spoke another word; so he pulled off his Hat, (being afraid), and went away. *Laus Deo*. And in y<sup>e</sup> Evening y<sup>e</sup> Church met at Mr. Young's, and broke bread in Peace.

<sup>67</sup> Pattens, i.e., a kind of overshoe worn to raise the ordinary shoes out of the mud or wet, consisting of a wooden sole mounted on an iron oval ring.

On y<sup>e</sup> 21st, we met at 8 in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and though there were seven on horseback and 20 on foot to seek after us We escaped, having broke up at ten. Mr. Weekes' and Mr. Gifford's people met on y<sup>e</sup> other side of y<sup>e</sup> River, so y<sup>e</sup> Informers saw them but could not come at them. But Olive and his Company took some of our friends coming into Town, and several of Mr. Wey's people coming from Durdham Down, as Dr. Chancy's Wife, Ben. Wey, Mr. Williamson, Widow Tyes and her Daughter, Mr. Young's Son and Daughter, whom they put in Bridewell, and bringing them before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor next morning, bound them over to y<sup>e</sup> Quarter Sessions. They took also Mrs. Snead and Mrs. Burges, but did not put them in Bridewell.

On y<sup>e</sup> 22d, Watkins and several Constables search'd Mrs. Martin's house, and lookt into a great Chest to find Mr. Fownes; and other houses to find one that was forced to lay down his Trade in Broad Street by reason of Persecution, against whom there was a writ *de excom. capiendo*. And they searcht Jno. Town's, who had been obliged to move out of y<sup>e</sup> Liberty of y<sup>e</sup> City to save himself. But they found none of them; for they were gone. There were also in their Warrant Br. Terrill, Weekes, Gifford, and many others. We therefore sent to Br. Fownes to withdraw further off, and let us know where, that We might send to him to let him know our State.

On y<sup>e</sup> 28th there was great hunting for us all over y<sup>e</sup> Wood by horse and foot, but Mr. Gifford and Weekes met on y<sup>e</sup> other side of y<sup>e</sup> River, betime in y<sup>e</sup> morning; and we did not meet till 4 in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, and were thro' mercy in peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 2nd Feb., Sr. Ship of Woolland decd, and was buried there. On y<sup>e</sup> 4th, got a Meeting in y<sup>e</sup> Evening in Gassen Lanes, with great Difficulty, because of our many Enemies.

On Wednesday, y<sup>e</sup> 7th, our Pastour preacht to us at Mr. Young's; there was a great Meeting, and not discover'd. He also preacht to us on y<sup>e</sup> 11th, beyond Stapleton Bridge, in Peace. And on y<sup>e</sup> 15th, we kept a Day of Prayer at Conham House, where also We met on y<sup>e</sup> 18th, being Ld's day, and Br. Fownes preacht, and administered y<sup>e</sup> Supper to us and some of y<sup>e</sup> Castle people, it being a very wet Day.

On y<sup>e</sup> 25th, Br. Fownes preacht to us near y<sup>e</sup> Gassen Lanes in Peace, and none of y<sup>e</sup> Meetings were disturbed. Y<sup>e</sup> Week before, at y<sup>e</sup> petty Sessions, y<sup>e</sup> Justices had commended y<sup>e</sup> Constables for their Diligence; so now they were willing to rest a little. We now began to go into y<sup>e</sup> Fields again for our Lectures.

On y<sup>e</sup> 4th Mar. Br. Fownes preacht to us in K's Wood in peace; but Mr. Hart going by towards Hanham, and seeing some of y<sup>e</sup> People, wisht for a Justice of peace. And 4 women and a man were taken coming into y<sup>e</sup> City, and carried before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who made y<sup>e</sup> Women pay some a Crown, and some  $\frac{1}{2}$  a Crown, and ordered y<sup>e</sup> man to appear again on friday.

On y<sup>e</sup> 11th, We began to meet beyond Stapleton Bridge, but y<sup>e</sup> Tything-man came, and said he must disturb us if we did. So we went elsewhere, and 4 officers of Stapleton came, but we were out of their Bounds. This morning Br. Jno. Robinson departed, near 80 years old.

On y<sup>e</sup> 15th, being a Day of Prayer, Our Pastour, knowing that several of Mr. Weekes' people had conformed, did at Conham House ask 2 Questions: First, Whether we did not stand in y<sup>e</sup> same Relation, and own y<sup>e</sup> same Principles, as at first?—and 2dly. Whether any were otherwise minded? desiring they that were might speak; but there was Silence. Tho' y<sup>e</sup> Assizes were then at Bristol, when we were liable to pay £20 a month for non-conformity, we were helped to trust God. There were 26 Brethren besides Sisters there, and not one was for Conforming. We had been taken by y<sup>e</sup> Informers from y<sup>e</sup> City at this Meeting, if one Pegler's son had not run another Way, and come to us before y<sup>e</sup> informers, to give us Notice. This Week about 150 Dissenters were convicted by our Recorder, on y<sup>e</sup> Statute of y<sup>e</sup> 23rd Eliz., for £20 a Month, for not coming to Church.

On y<sup>e</sup> 18th March, Br. Fownes preachd to us in y<sup>e</sup> Wood in Peace, and afterwards broke bread and sung a hymn at Conham house, tho' Olive had threatened to bring some Troupers, and carry us to Gloucr Gaol, and there were ten of Oxford's Troup passed from Bath to Bristol, and said to some, We will be with you by and by, and shall know in y<sup>e</sup> City where you hold forth to-day. Yet we were in Peace. *Laus Deo.*

Our Pastour having been much afflicted with y<sup>e</sup> Stone for 2 days, and this morning very ill, yet sent to us on y<sup>e</sup> 25th into y<sup>e</sup> Wood to begin, and he would be with us quickly. Accordingly he came, but after  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour we were surrounded with Horse and foot, y<sup>e</sup> former in ambush. Br. Fownes got on horseback, which one of y<sup>e</sup> informers from an hill seeing, made a signal to y<sup>e</sup> Horse in Ambush to pursue; but they had not found him, if a Countryman had not innocently told them which way he was gone. So they overtook and kept him by Justice Player's Command, at a Collier's all night. And afterwards sd Justice sent a Warrant to bring him next day, at 2 in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, to Newton's Armes in London Road, where Player, Newton, and Meredith made his Mittimus to Gloucester Gaol for Six Months, on y<sup>e</sup> Oxford Act; and seeing Br. Dickason there they bound him over to y<sup>e</sup> Assizes, because y<sup>e</sup> Informers said he had been at a Meeting with a 1000 people. Some others also of our friends being present were forced to steal away, else they would have been bound over. Y<sup>e</sup> text Br. Fownes had been preaching from, was 2 Tim. ii. 9. Tho. Rosse, y<sup>e</sup> Tything-man for Bitton, let Br. Fownes go and lodge a night at Mr. Wickham's, and also gave Mr. Wickham y<sup>e</sup> Mittimus to take Mr. Fownes to Gaol, with whom some of our friends went also for Company.

A.D. 1683.—Apr 2nd, we met at five in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and changed our Lecture Day from Thursday to Friday morning. Br. Whinnell preacht to us in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 11th, a Day of Prayer, being a very wet Day, Widow Baldwin gave us leave to meet in her Outhouses, and we were in Peace. But now Justice Player, being exceeding fierce against us, had granted Warrants to take 28 to Gloucr Sessions. Therefore on y<sup>e</sup> 15th We met on y<sup>e</sup> other side y<sup>e</sup> River, where y<sup>e</sup> Justices were not so active. But now Hellier was made under-Sheriff of Somersetshire, and being on horseback with a pair of Pistols before him, and having got some Bayliffs and Constables, came upon us while Br. Whinnell was preaching near Bussleton Common, and lays hold on several, but Mr. Whinnell escaped. He order'd one of his men to lay hold on Mr. Terrill, and being askt, Which was he? he said, He in y<sup>e</sup> Black hat. Which that Day proved to be wrong, so he also escaped. But they took several, and had them to a little house on y<sup>e</sup> Common, and some to an Ale-house not far off, where some got away again; but 7, viz., Br. Ellis, 2 Servant-Men, and 4 women, were brought to a Bailiff's house at Whitchurch, and carried y<sup>e</sup> next morning before Just. Langton.

When these were in Custody, Hellier went to find Mr. Weekes' people, who were not far off, and y<sup>e</sup> while dispersed. But meeting again in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, Hellier came upon them, and they, many of them, got over y<sup>e</sup> Water. Then Hellier waved his Hat for Olive and his Crew to pursue them on Gloucestershire-side; which they did, and made y<sup>e</sup> Officers of y<sup>e</sup> hundred go with them, against their Wills. So Tilly met with Mr. Dav. Phillips, and would have 5s. of him. Y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Gang espied Mr. Knight, a Minister from Taunton, and Mr. Ford, a Mercer in High Street, and pursued them about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile. Whereupon Mr. Ford and he, being tired, and not likely to escape, and seeing y<sup>e</sup> River low, ventured to cross it: (for they that Pursued them made a sad Noise, as if they were hunting, crying, Knock them Down; so that y<sup>e</sup> Cattle ran about y<sup>e</sup> Wood, and some at a Distance thought they were hunting a Deer.) Mr. Ford went in first, and Mr. Knight after him; but seeing Mr. Ford, either by y<sup>e</sup> Slipping of his foot or depth of Water, sinking, Cry'd out for help, and tho' many on y<sup>e</sup> other side saw it they would not help. But on Gloucester-side a Collier with a Child in his arms laid it down, and running in catcht Mr. Knight, and with much ado pluckt him out, and called to Watkins y<sup>e</sup> Marshall to come and help him; but he would not. Mr. Ford having no help was *Drown'd*; which Olive and his Crew seeing went away.

Then some of y<sup>e</sup> Colliers carried y<sup>e</sup> Minister to Mr. L. Fox's, in Pile-marsh, where by a warm bed and other means he was recovered. And y<sup>e</sup> wicked persecutors hearing of it came and beset y<sup>e</sup> house, demanding y<sup>e</sup> Minister, that they might carry him to Prison; but Mr. Fox bar'd them out, and when they were gone

convey'd him to another House. So when they came afterwards again with a Warrant, and searched Mr. Fox's house, they could not find him. Then, to cover y<sup>e</sup> Wickedness in pursuing them, they raised a lye, and said y<sup>e</sup> Minister killed Mr. Ford, and they would have a Hue and Cry after y<sup>e</sup> Minister. Others said Mr. Ford drowned himself; but his Body being found that evening, y<sup>e</sup> Coroner, Mr. Chain of Cham, was sent for. And y<sup>e</sup> next day he came, and about 3 impannelled a Jury of 19. 8 Witnesses swore they saw them pursued, and that they cry'd, Knock them down; and Stone pursued into y<sup>e</sup> very water. Y<sup>e</sup> coroner adjourned till 7 y<sup>e</sup> next morning, April 17, when y<sup>e</sup> 19 brought in their verdict; That Wm. Stone as principall, and Waltr Watkins and Jno. Hore as accessaries, were y<sup>e</sup> Cause of Mr. Ford's Death. And 15 of y<sup>e</sup> Jury subscribed y<sup>e</sup> sd *Verdict*. Y<sup>e</sup> Coroner being satisfy'd, said it was enough if but 12 had signed, therefore issued his Warrants for y<sup>e</sup> taking those 3 men, and desir'd y<sup>e</sup> Mayor of Bristoll to do y<sup>e</sup> same; but he refused. So y<sup>e</sup> Coroner sent an Hue and Cry, and afterwards a 2nd, and Hore was found by Maryport Constables, and brought before Aldm. Olive. But y<sup>e</sup> man was let go again, and nothing done for y<sup>e</sup> present.

And now to return to speak to y<sup>e</sup> 9 friends carried before Justice Langton. It was said he would have bound them over to y<sup>e</sup> Quarter Sessions: not those that were to be on y<sup>e</sup> morrow, but y<sup>e</sup> next after. But Hellier wrote a Letter to him, requiring him to bind them to appear y<sup>e</sup> present Sessions at Ilchester; and so he did. Wherefore those poor Souls, some aged and feeble and others poor, were forc'd to go as they could those 30 miles, and before they came Hellier had endited them for a Riot. So when they came on y<sup>e</sup> 17th, y<sup>e</sup> Grand Jury found y<sup>e</sup> Bill. They were all Strangers; (y<sup>e</sup> Counsr that was sent to appear for them being gone out of Town.) And Hellier laid great and grievous things to their Charge, as Rebels, and Dangerous to y<sup>e</sup> Government; that they went into y<sup>e</sup> Country, broke men's Hedges, trampled on their corn, threw open their Gates, &c. Y<sup>e</sup> Justices askt them, whether they would traverse or submit. They said y<sup>e</sup> latter, not knowing y<sup>e</sup> Issue. Then they askt them, whether they would go to Church and receive y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament at Whitsuntide, and bring a Certificate of their so doing; if they would they should be clear'd, or else be fined 20 marks apiece. They desired some time to consider of it. But Hellier aggravated y<sup>e</sup> matter. Then they said they would go to Church. Oh! says Hellier, they call their Conventicles y<sup>e</sup> Church. So y<sup>e</sup> Justices fined them 20 marks each, (which for y<sup>e</sup> 9 made £120,) and to lye in Prison until it was paid. Thus our friends were cast into prison; but Mr. Dunning, late Sheriff of Bristol, rode down and got off his Cousin Graunt. Mr. Doleman's servant, and two other servants, promis'd to go to Church, and so got out of Prison. But these six, S. Smith, S. Dennis, and S. Hughes, Widow, our members, S. Sarah Lewis, Mr. Gifford's member, Br. Ellis's



son, and Mrs. Eliz. Butler, hearers, lay there still.

On y<sup>e</sup> 22nd, being Ld's day, our Persecutors said they would have 30 of each side of y<sup>e</sup> water, and would imprison every man of us, and make us go thro' Fire and Water. This Rage was occasioned by y<sup>e</sup> Jury's Verdict about Mr. Ford, as above. But we went out at 4 in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and were in Peace. And so were y<sup>e</sup> other Congregations that Day. Blessed be God.

On Monday, y<sup>e</sup> 23rd Apr, 1683, we kept a Day of Fasting and Prayer, partly on Acct of Mr. Young, who had lately turned from being Parson of Bussleton to preach among y<sup>e</sup> Dissenters, principally Mr. Weekes' people. And last week he went to Gloucester to see Mr. Fownes in Prison there. And it being Sessions' Time Ralph Olive went there to prosecute Br. Dickason, and spy'd Mr. Young riding into y<sup>e</sup> City; so he dog'd him. And having seen where he put up his horse, and getting a Warrant, comes after him into y<sup>e</sup> Prison, and took him before a Justice, and swore that he heard him within 2 years past preach at a Conventicle in y<sup>e</sup> fields: therefore a Justice committed him for 6 months by y<sup>e</sup> Five Mile Act. And at y<sup>e</sup> same Time Olive swore against Br. Dickason, that he saw him at a Conventicle with 1000 People. So he was forc'd to traverse, and was bound to appear next Sessions.

On y<sup>e</sup> 29th, We met near Roe Yate, but y<sup>e</sup> Informers came upon us, and took some Names, but no Persons. We afterwards met in another place in Peace. And y<sup>e</sup> Hue and Cry being still out against Watkins and Hore, Smith y<sup>e</sup> Constable took them both at an Ale-house, after they return'd from us, and kept them all night in Custody and y<sup>e</sup> next day brought them before Justice Newton. But before they came Ollive's party had been with y<sup>e</sup> Justice, and told him they had been before a Justice in y<sup>e</sup> city, and he had took Bail for them; so Newton let them go. And Wat y<sup>e</sup> Marshal accused sd Smith of having y<sup>e</sup> Minister that was almost drown'd in Custody, and leting him go, which was false; but y<sup>e</sup> justice bound Smith to his good Behaviour. And Mr. James Holloway, Merchant, being there as a Spectatour, Olive offer'd to swear he had seen him at a Meeting: so y<sup>e</sup> Justice bound him over to Gloucr Sessions. Whereupon y<sup>e</sup> Informers vaunted what they would do, and y<sup>e</sup> next Day went and knockt boldly at Mr. Terrill's Gate, who was in y<sup>e</sup> House about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an hour before, and was then in y<sup>e</sup> Back side. His bro.-in-law Listun went to y<sup>e</sup> Door, and seeing Wat, spoke roughly, and said he was there that Day, but lived out of town; which was a gracious Providence. Mr. Terrill knew nothing of it, and if y<sup>e</sup> maid, being a Stranger, had went to y<sup>e</sup> Door, he had been taken then. Then they went and searcht Mr. Young's and Mr. Jacob's Houses, pretending a meeting there, but found not y<sup>e</sup> men. And they afterwards watcht at Mr. Terrill's back door in y<sup>e</sup> Evenings, and in other places, hoping to catch him, or Mr. Gifford, &c.

May 6, Being Ld's Day, we met near Stapleton Bridge; but y<sup>e</sup>

sd Watkins and others went to Stapleton, and obliged y<sup>e</sup> Officers thereof to come and disperse us; though afterwards we met in y<sup>e</sup> Wood in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 10th, we met at Conham House for a Day of Prayer, getting to it round by London Road; and a man with a Bill, a Secret Informer, followed y<sup>e</sup> People; but a Neighbour, seeing him, laid y<sup>e</sup> Evil of it so before him that he went away, and we were in Peace. We there had letters from Br. Fownes at Gloucr, and those also at Ilchester Gaol. And there being a Warrant out against Mr. Whinnell, wch had obliged him y<sup>e</sup> week before to leave his school, it was proposed, whether we should dismiss him to get his Living elsewhere, or raise something for his Support. So we subscribed for £20 per annum for him. Mr. Knight, y<sup>e</sup> Minister, is dead; never well since he was in y<sup>e</sup> Water.

On y<sup>e</sup> 13th, being Ld's day, Br Gifford narrowly escaped being taken by y<sup>e</sup> Informers, near y<sup>e</sup> Close of his Sermon. Mr. Bailey was taken, and Mr. Wickham noted. We met further in y<sup>e</sup> Wood in Peace. This Day S. Kimber died, being taken sick on y<sup>e</sup> same Day on which, a month before, she had conformed, and recd y<sup>e</sup> Sacrament at 'TEwin's Church. Y<sup>e</sup> next Week Hellier went to London to take out 500 Writs for Bristol, for £20 a Month, &c.

On y<sup>e</sup> 23rd, we kept a Day of Prayer, as we had for some time Done every other Week, and had there a Letter fro' our Pastour in answer to some Queries, particularly whether we should meet publicly, or a few together in sevl places. Our Pastour shew'd it was our Duty to meet publicly, and not refrain for fear of Threats till we were made to cease by force and Power, Ezra iv. 23, and until y<sup>e</sup> Church did agree to meet in small numbers; but in y<sup>e</sup> meantime it was y<sup>e</sup> Duty of every member to attend y<sup>e</sup> Church-meetings. Mr. Weekes' People met on Bussleton-side, and were troubled. We sent Messengers to some that had not been with us of late in y<sup>e</sup> fields, as Br Davis, Kemp, and Bland, and they were with us on y<sup>e</sup> 31st, a Day of Prayer kept in Peace at Conham House. We had now more Peace in general, wch we wonder at and look upon as y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Check on their Spirits. Jasper Cause, one of y<sup>e</sup> Busy Constables, is cast into prison for Debt. Another Stole, and is run away. One Sweeper a Constable died, and on his Death-Bed sent for some of his Companions, and warned them against meddling with Dissenters. A Bayliff that helpt to carry our friends to Ilchester, and used reproachfull words, is taken up by Hue and Cry for killing a man.

July 7. On this day near 20 friends were summoned before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and bound over to appear at Gloucr Sessions, next week: viz. Br. Bodenham, Messenger, Day, Courtney; of Mr. Weekes' people, Mr. Chock, Jacob, Nath. Ball, junr, Mr. Bryan, senr, and many more. Br. Dickason had now his Tryal, and was fined 20 marks, and to lye in Prison till paid. Y<sup>e</sup> rest were willing to traverse, and so were bound with Sureties £60 for each to appear next

Quarter Sessions, and in y<sup>e</sup> meantime to be of good Behaviour. On y<sup>e</sup> 22nd and 29th, being Ld's days, y<sup>e</sup> trained Bands were placed at y<sup>e</sup> Gates to prevent friends going out of y<sup>e</sup> City; but on y<sup>e</sup> 29th, some got out y<sup>e</sup> night before, and had a Meeting in K's Wood.

July 27th, 1683. Br. Jno. Pritchard died, and was buried in our Burying-Place.

On y<sup>e</sup> 12th of August, We met in a shady Gully, and Br. Whinnell preacht; but some Constables of Barton hundred came upon us, and seiz'd Br. Hunt's aged father, and Br Jno. Fry; and laid hands on two more, who promis'd them 5s. apiece: so they let them go. One of y<sup>e</sup> Constables, Thos. Smith, had been one of Mr. Weekes' people.

At Gloucr Assizes Watkins and Hoar had a Bill found against them by y<sup>e</sup> Grand Jury, as Guilty of y<sup>e</sup> Murder of Mr. Ford, being prosecuted by his Widow; and Tilly and Lugg were found Guilty by y<sup>e</sup> Grand Jury as Accessories: so they were all arraigned. But y<sup>e</sup> Judge directed y<sup>e</sup> Petty Jury to clear them, y<sup>e</sup> Ld Herbert sitting by and whispering; and y<sup>e</sup> Coroner also was checkt. 2 of y<sup>e</sup> 4 Witnesses bound to prosecute, it was thought, were Bribed, and would not say so much as they had done before y<sup>e</sup> Coroner; who told y<sup>e</sup> Judge so, and said also he could have brought many more Witnesses, but thought 4 Sufficient.

On y<sup>e</sup> 19th, We met on Somersetshire side, and Br Whinnell preacht in peace. This Evening Olive and his Comps, 18 in all, Searcht Mr. Gifford's House for him, and Mr. Young's;—first under pretence of finding a Meeting, and afterwards for Arms;—and made them open every Box and Chest, and tumbled their Linnen, calling Mr. Young perjured Rogue, because he was foreman of y<sup>e</sup> Coroner's Jury about Mr. Ford.

On y<sup>e</sup> 26th, met in K's Wood in peace, tho' there were 20 out in search of Us; but Br. Gifford's people met on y<sup>e</sup> other side of y<sup>e</sup> Water, and had but very little notice of Watkins and his Company; but Mr. Gifford and a few more got over in y<sup>e</sup> Boat, and were not over before Wat. came to y<sup>e</sup> water-side. And no sooner was he over, and got up in y<sup>e</sup> Wood, but Olive and his Gang came; but he escap'd, and a Mile off in y<sup>e</sup> Wood kept a Meeting with those that Got to him. Mr. Weekes his People, tho' he was not in prison, had laid down their meetings for 2 Months. There was no publick Meeting but ours and Mr. Gifford's. Y<sup>e</sup> Day above mentioned, they took y<sup>e</sup> names of 18 of Mr. Gifford's people, and told Mr. Crotch they must go next Sessions to Ilchester.

On y<sup>e</sup> 28th, S. Dickason dyed. When she was sick, they sent for her husband in Gloucr Jail; but they would not let him come. When dead, some offered to be bound for him, Body for Body; but they would not let him come till he had pd his Fine and Charge, 18 pounds. So y<sup>e</sup> poor man came and buried his Wife on y<sup>e</sup> 31st.

On 2nd Sept. met in peace; but y<sup>e</sup> Constables met with Br. Hutton and his Wife, and Br. Hall, and would have had 5s. apiece;

but they spent about 2s. on them at an Ale-house, and they let them go. Br. Terrill staid a little behind them, and escap'd. Y<sup>e</sup> same officers disturb'd Mr. Gifford's Meeting, and had lik'd to have caught Mr. Gifford. They met with Br. Adlam, Bright, &c., and made them pay. Stone, made a Weigher,<sup>68</sup> dyed of y<sup>e</sup> Small-pox abt 14 days after he had been arraign'd at Gloucester. Y<sup>e</sup> Quakers had, some of them, met in their Houses of Meeting of late, and y<sup>e</sup> Informers did not seem to take notice of them. On y<sup>e</sup> 9th of Sept. they met both morning and Afternoon; but Ollive and Lugg came on them in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, and took 35 of them to prison, and y<sup>e</sup> next Day went to their Houses with Warrants, and took away their Goods, particularly from Mr. Jones, and Haggatt y<sup>e</sup> Grocer.

On y<sup>e</sup> 15th, they met with poor old Austin Crow, and having him before Aldm. Olive, who was this Day chosen Mayor, They accused him of giving notice to y<sup>e</sup> meetings when y<sup>e</sup> Informers were coming, of helping Mr. Gifford to escape, and being Witness against y<sup>e</sup> K's Evidence; and so they hal'd him away to Newgate.

On y<sup>e</sup> 16th, Some of our People coming too late into y<sup>e</sup> Wood, fell into our Persecutours' hands, who took them to y<sup>e</sup> Sun Ale-house, without Lawford's Gate, kept them till Evening, made them pay 5s. apiece, and So let them go. Y<sup>e</sup> next day being petty Sessions, y<sup>e</sup> Justices having heard they got 40s. of our People and Mr. Gifford's, whom they seiz'd on y<sup>e</sup> Ware, coming to town, askt them for y<sup>e</sup> money, and were answer'd that 12s. 4d. of it was spent. Therefore y<sup>e</sup> Justices checkt them, and bid bring either y<sup>e</sup> Money or y<sup>e</sup> persons. Our Meeting was disturb'd, and Mrs. Lawrence, and 2 young men of Mr. Gifford's people, were carried to Bridewell. Sr. Rose Teague, Mrs. Allen, Sr. Sterry, and Mrs. Clark's maid, were made to pay 5s. apiece.

On y<sup>e</sup> 23rd, some of our friends that came late into y<sup>e</sup> Wood were spied by their Enemies; but by running escaped, except Br. Jos. Clark, and Sr. Buckland. She was lately come out of Ilchester Gaol, where 20 marks and Charges had been paid for her. They, refusing to pay 5s. apiece, were carried Prisoners to y<sup>e</sup> Sun Ale-house, and y<sup>e</sup> next morning carried before Newton and other Justices, who discharged them.

On y<sup>e</sup> 30th, after 4 Hours' search, y<sup>e</sup> Enemies found some of our people in their Return from our Meeting, and took their names, but let them go. They boasted afterwards that they had got 20 names, and would endite them for a Riot at Gloucr Sessions, and that they were very glad they had got their Godfather's Daughter, meaning Mary Young. Olive, now made Mayor, threatened what he would do, (and So did his son in his father's Mayoralty,) but on y<sup>e</sup> 29th he died. Our Pastour is still kept in Prison, though his Six months according to Law are expired.

<sup>68</sup> Weigher, i.e., A person employed to weigh commodities; or test weights.

On y<sup>e</sup> 26th of Oct. Sr. Martha Ridley depatd this Life. She was our Benefactour Robinson's Daughter.

On y<sup>e</sup> 28th Day, Some of our friends were taken in their Return, and made to pay Money. But Sr. England, and Mr. Bodenham's maid, being taken in y<sup>e</sup> City, would not pay. Therefore being carried to Bridewell all Night, were brought before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor next morning, who askt sister England, Whether she was at a Meeting? She said, She was not bound to accuse herself. See, says he, how they are taught. Then he askt, Whether she had been at Church? She not readily answering, y<sup>e</sup> Town Clerk would have her sent away for not answering; so she said, She was not. So they were bid to pay 1s. apiece, and were discharged. Several y<sup>e</sup> same day paid 5s. apiece. Br. Ellis was caught by them, but let go again. Br. Whinnell and Terrill narrowly escaped.

On y<sup>e</sup> 1st Nov., four horsemen were out after us in y<sup>e</sup> Wood; but We having Intelligence before they came, got over to y<sup>e</sup> other side, and were in Peace.

Nov. 4th. On this day, being Ld's day, We met on the other side of y<sup>e</sup> Water, and were in Peace. Br. Whinnel preacht. But when we had done, heard of 3 on horseback, and others on foot, coming towards us, and We generally escaped; but 2 men of Bussleton that had been with us, fell into their Hands, and they made them promise to appear at a place appointed another Day. They also overtook Rose Teague, near Totterdown, where Br. Dickason and Whinnell had got in.

On y<sup>e</sup> 11th, Br. Gifford's meeting was found out; but they having some Notice of y<sup>e</sup> Enemies' coming dispersed, only Sr. Lawrence and Lambert were taken by them. Which 2 or 3 Colliers knowing, asked y<sup>e</sup> Marshal what authority they had. He said, They were y<sup>e</sup> K's Officers. But y<sup>e</sup> other told them, Not these. They said also, They should take Men and not Women, and they would see their Warrant. Upon this y<sup>e</sup> Marshal for fear slipt away, and y<sup>e</sup> Colliers said they would not take them away by force, but if y<sup>e</sup> Young Women would go with them they should not have them; and accordingly y<sup>e</sup> Women went with them. So this was called a Rescue of y<sup>e</sup> K's prisoners. Wherefore, afterwards, they caught Ambrose Davis, who kept an Ale-house at Scruze Hole, within y<sup>e</sup> Liberties of y<sup>e</sup> City that very evening, and carried him to Newgate. He sent for his Wife, and she, for fear, gave y<sup>e</sup> Names of many who were said to be at y<sup>e</sup> Meeting, and told what Colliers were with her husband, and so her husband was discharged y<sup>e</sup> next Day. This was lookt on as a grand Riot. Joyner swore he was afraid of his Life, so a Warrant was granted to take up several, and y<sup>e</sup> Women also. So they threaten what they will do next Sessions.

On y<sup>e</sup> 14th, A Day of Prayer, having some hours together in y<sup>e</sup> Wood between London and Sodbury Road, y<sup>e</sup> Enemies came upon us unawares, and seized about 8 persons; but y<sup>e</sup> brethren escap'd to admiration. Y<sup>e</sup> Bushes were of great service to us;

but they took Sr. Young, sen., Mary Young, Sr. Hughs, Clark, and her horse and man John, B. Purnell's wife, Mrs. Sage, Sr. Dayes, Mrs. Saunders, B. Randall's Wife's sister, Mrs. Mary Seamore, and brought them away to y<sup>e</sup> Sun Ale-house, near Lawford's Gate. And there they got Justice Fitz-Herbert to come, and upon Examination he could get little out of them, and could not learn who was y<sup>e</sup> Preacher; so they were let go. But Lugg swore he heard praying or preaching; so We suppose y<sup>e</sup> Conventicle Act will be put in Execution. Sr. Young's son Emanuel, being seen loading of Hay, y<sup>e</sup> Informers made him go along with them, making him believe they had a Hue and Cry.

On y<sup>e</sup> 18th, We met, some on one side and some on y<sup>e</sup> other of y<sup>e</sup> river, designing to cross at Earle's Passage; but Earle had been so threatened, that he would not let us Pass. So they on y<sup>e</sup> other side went to Hanham Mills, and there came over, and we met in Peace. But they caught Srs. Morgan and Buckland as they were returning into y<sup>e</sup> City, and had them to Bridewell; but in y<sup>e</sup> Evening Joyner, y<sup>e</sup> keeper of Bridewell, and Lugg and Hore, acting like Justices, examin'd them, and taking 6 pence apiece of them for fees let them go.

This day Isaac Dennis, keeper of Newgate, dy'd in great Horror and Despair, wishing he had never taken y<sup>e</sup> Dissenters' Money, though he said he was not so bad as Joyner, because he did not hale them into prison. He said he should be damned, and many dreadful expressions. Br. Purnell, a relation, going to see him, and putting y<sup>e</sup> Clothes on him, he said, he should be hot enough in hell shortly. Some say he dy'd shreekeing.

Dec. 9th. Several of our friends were out great part of this day, being very wet and cold, with Snow and Sleet, and kept a little Meeting;—Br. Terrill preacht;—and some in y<sup>e</sup> City, to whom Br. Whinnell preacht in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 20th, Wat. y<sup>e</sup> Marshal, and others, went with Warrants from Justice Herbert to Br. Jno. Morgan, in Temple street, and took his yarn and what Goods they could find, for £7 10s. And y<sup>e</sup> day before took away Margaret Seamoor's trunk and Clothes, worth about £30, for 7 pounds odd money, for being at our Meeting in y<sup>e</sup> fields. And they went to others for 5s.: to Mr. Young's for 10s. for his Wife and Daughter.

Dec. 23rd. This day we met at Br. Caleb Shuter's, on Redcliff Hill, in peace. But y<sup>e</sup> Marshal and others first got into Br. Gifford's House, and searcht that; and finding there a Child, they frighten'd it, that it ran to Mr. Wise's, where y<sup>e</sup> Meeting was. And they followed it, and beset y<sup>e</sup> House. And Watkins gets into y<sup>e</sup> House when Br. Gifford had ended his first prayer. Being thus surpriz'd Br. Gifford endeavoured to get out at y<sup>e</sup> Back door, but Moses Pell laid hold on his Great coat. However, he gave a Spring, and y<sup>e</sup> Coat slipt off, and he wonderfully made his Escape, tho' they pursued him.

Yesterday, Br. Ellis's son Tho. died, having got a Cold by lying on Straw in Ilchester Gaol many months, of which he never recovered. But y<sup>e</sup> Lord did there savingly awaken him, and he was baptized by Mr. Miller, pastour of a neighbouring church there.

On y<sup>e</sup> 26th, Br. Nath. Sneed, one of our Deacon's, Dy'd.

On y<sup>e</sup> 30th, being a hard frost, and Snow on y<sup>e</sup> Ground, We met in y<sup>e</sup> Wood, and though we stood in y<sup>e</sup> Snow, y<sup>e</sup> Sun Shone upon us, and We were in peace. But in our Return, Wat. and another met with Sr. Clark and her maid, Sr. Allen's husband's sister, Mary Young and her brother Rich., Kath. Fownes, our Pastour's Daughter, and Mrs. Legg's Daughter, of St. Austin's Back. Sr. Clark would not tell y<sup>e</sup> Marshal her name, nor go into an Ale-house. Then he said, she must go before a Justice. She said, if he would stay till she sent for her horse, she would. Then he brought her to y<sup>e</sup> Constable of y<sup>e</sup> Hundred, and Kath. Fownes. Y<sup>e</sup> rest he said he knew. On her promise to appear next morning y<sup>e</sup> Constable let her go. Accordingly, she appears; but Wat. could not, (because of Lieut. Green's funeral.) But Wheeler, y<sup>e</sup> Tything-man came, and would have y<sup>e</sup> Constable go before a Justice; but he would not because Wat. did not come, saying, he had nothing to accuse them of. So they went home.

Jan. 6th. On this Day Widow Jervis deptyd this Life, and was buried in our Burying-Place. Y<sup>e</sup> parish allowed her 2s. a week, and y<sup>e</sup> church one, by reason of her helplessness thro' Distemper.

On y<sup>e</sup> 12th, Br. Tho. Hall was sought after by y<sup>e</sup> Marshal and one of y<sup>e</sup> Sheriff's men, but was not found. Lugg, chief Constable of James' Ward, told Aldm. Hicks He used all y<sup>e</sup> means he could to take Mr. Whinnell, but could not. About 20 of our friends had been obliged to go to Gloucr several Sessions, and now Br. Bodenham, Bowman, Messenger, and Courtney, employed Mr. Hawksworth, y<sup>e</sup> Attorney, to serve y<sup>e</sup> Court with a *Certiorari* to remove y<sup>e</sup> cause to y<sup>e</sup> K's Bench: But Justice Player, being foreman, would not allow it, because he had not two ready to give a £10 bond to pay Cost; but presently empannelled a Jury. And altho' y<sup>e</sup> Jury brought them in not guilty, Player told them they must bring them in guilty, because some of Mr. Weekes' people in y<sup>e</sup> same enditement had submitted, (thereby owning themselves guilty, and y<sup>e</sup> Court required their Conformity, and upon their bringing Certificates had released them, paying 5s. a man, viz., Mr. Chock, Gibbs, Rawley, Lott, and others). And Br. Bowman giving six guineas to Ralph Olive got off also. But Br. Bodenham, Messenger, and Courtney, were found guilty; and because they were not there, they threatened to undo their Security, and fine them greatly. Brother Gwillim went into Court soon after, and tendered Security as to the *Certiorari*, but it was not accepted.

On y<sup>e</sup> 20th Jan. Br. Gifford and his people, by reason of y<sup>e</sup> extreme Cold, could not stay abroad, but went into one Gold's

house, a Collier beyond Dungen Cross. And y<sup>e</sup> Informers had employed 2 Boys to dog y<sup>e</sup> people, and they brought them Word they went into that House. So they beset y<sup>e</sup> House, and kept all in till they had taken their names; and took Mr. Gifford, 1st to y<sup>e</sup> Sun ale-house, then to Newton's Arms, where they kept him all night, and next morning brought him before Justices Newton and Meredith, where Wat. and another witness'd he preacht in April last, (for they could not now prove preaching or praying.) So they made his Mittimus to Gloucester, and committed him to y<sup>e</sup> Constable to have him thither, but gave leave for him to go home for 3 days to take leave of his friends.

On y<sup>e</sup> 23rd, in y<sup>e</sup> evening, four women, and Br. Harvey, and Br. Wise's man, came to see him. Y<sup>e</sup> Informers coming in took Mr. Gifford out of his House, and carries y<sup>e</sup> 2 men, with one Mr. Fowles also who came while they were in Mr. Gifford's House, and swear an unlawfull assembly against them, before Justice Newton then at y<sup>e</sup> Lamb without Lawford's Gate. So he makes a Mittimus to send them 3 to jail with Mr. Gifford; but intercession being made, he took security for y<sup>e</sup> 3 men to appear at y<sup>e</sup> Sessions, and ordered y<sup>e</sup> Constable to take Mr. Gifford directly to Gloucr, and not to go out of his Way, and threatened him severely if he did.

On y<sup>e</sup> 4th Feb. Br. Messenger had his house broken open by Wat. and others; but he went out at a Gutter Window, and over to a Neighbour's House, and down their Stairs into y<sup>e</sup> Street, and escaped. But his mother and Family were greatly frightened.

On y<sup>e</sup> 11th, Aged Br. Tyler died, as it is supposed, in his Sleep, and was buried in our Burying-Place. He seemed to be in his usual State of Health. This Day, also, Fran. Whitehead was brought before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and Wat. and others said he was seen in 7ber last, in K's Wood, on y<sup>e</sup> Highway, going towards Bristol; and though they could not prove he had been at a meeting, because he would not give Bond to appear at Gloucr next Sessions, he was sent to Newgate. Old Br. Robt. Cornish was brought before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and bound over to Gloucr Sessions, because he and his Wife were seen in K's Wood, and only supposed he had been at a Meeting; and he was bound to Bristol Sessions, on y<sup>e</sup> oath of a Waiter on board a Ship, saying, that 10 months before he had Spoke against y<sup>e</sup> Common Prayer.

At 2 design'd Meetings lately we had Intelligence that we were dog'd by children, and should have y<sup>e</sup> Informers upon us. So we dispers'd, and one of y<sup>e</sup> Times met at another House in Peace. Y<sup>e</sup> Informers had now got Orders from y<sup>e</sup> Justices to return the Names of Men or Women whom they could see in y<sup>e</sup> fields, tho' they could not prove any Meeting, to y<sup>e</sup> Sessions at Gloucr. And so several whom they could remember to have seen in y<sup>e</sup> Wood, though six months ago, they have had before Sr Wm. Clutterbuck our Mayor, and he has bound them over to y<sup>e</sup> Sessions. Many of



our friends, therefore, being bound over, and some afraid to go about their Worldly business, at a Church-meeting on y<sup>e</sup> 4th of March we took our sad state into Consideration. And Br. Terrill signified that our duty lay in 3 things:— 1st. To watch over one another, that none draw back to y<sup>e</sup> World's Worship; 2nd. That every one sanctify y<sup>e</sup> Ld's day; 3rd. that we endeavour to edify one another as Members, and also do what we can for others' Souls. And considering what is above, and that Writs are daily expected to levy 20*l.* a Month, 240*l.* per Annum a man upon us for not coming to Church, or imprison us if it be not paid, (there being 13 brethren present) we agreed to have circular meetings at 5 places where y<sup>e</sup> brethren were to exercise their gifts, and twice in a Day, at 9 in y<sup>e</sup> morning and at one in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon. These five places were,— 1. Br. Dickason or Davis, 2 Br. Clark or Robert Lewis, 3 Br. Whinnell, 4 Br. Ellis or J. Cornish, 5 Br. Terrill's. And also 3 places for Prayer and repetition, viz., Br. Gwillim's, Br. Bodenham's, Br. Reeve's. And because some might be sick or otherwise detained, we appointed 6 or 7 to a place, and y<sup>e</sup> first 4 were to be taken in, and those that were shut out were to go to y<sup>e</sup> Places of repetition. And none were to go to a place but once a day, and not to y<sup>e</sup> same place every Ld's day, but round; so they came to y<sup>e</sup> same once in 5 weeks. And by this means near 100 might hear every Ld's day, and in a few Weeks had y<sup>e</sup> Benefit of all y<sup>e</sup> Church's Gifts. And besides, Br. Whinnell would repeat again at some house in y<sup>e</sup> Evening, and on week Days at other places. Thus we kept within y<sup>e</sup> Law which allowed 4 besides y<sup>e</sup> Family. And on y<sup>e</sup> 9th March we began this Circular meeting.

On y<sup>e</sup> 12th, Wat. Lugg, and Joyner, came to Br. Dickason's and carried him before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor; who sent him to Newgate, because he would not be bound over to Gloucr Sessions.

On y<sup>e</sup> 14th Day we kept a Popular meeting at Sr. Codner's, a Day of Prayer, and were in Peace.

On y<sup>e</sup> 15th, y<sup>e</sup> Writs to levy 20*l.* a month being come were privately open'd, and in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon Sheriff Arnold, and his Officers, and y<sup>e</sup> Informers, go into Men's Shops and houses, and seize all their Goods, and carry them away for y<sup>e</sup> King, continuing this work till 12 at night.

On y<sup>e</sup> 17th to y<sup>e</sup> 20th Day, y<sup>e</sup> under Sheriff went about to take an acc. of Dissenters' Goods, and appraise. And if they would pay down y<sup>e</sup> money they 'prais'd them at they had them; otherwise they were markt, and y<sup>e</sup> Owners charged not to meddle with them. And in some houses some Officer was set to watch y<sup>e</sup> Goods, that none were removed.

Such as would conform, and bring Certificates of their doing, were obliged to pay y<sup>e</sup> Town-Clerk £20, each man for y<sup>e</sup> Charge of reversing y<sup>e</sup> sentence,—Michael Pope is said to have paid 100*l.*—and so their Goods were let alone. Many that knew of these things beforehand removed their Goods, what they could. Several, to

avoid going before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and to prison, gave y<sup>e</sup> Informers one, two, or 3 Guineas, as Br. Sam. Hunt did. There was now a Shoemaker's man, Smith, turned informer, and endeavoured to get money of servant-maids; which Mr. Whitehead proving against him before an Aldm., he was sent to Newgate, on y<sup>e</sup> 20th instant. But Wat. informing y<sup>e</sup> Mayor of it, he releases him, and sending for y<sup>e</sup> Woman that came a Witness against him, some were procured to swear that she kept a meeting in her House some time past. So they cast her into Newgate, and set y<sup>e</sup> Informer free.

On y<sup>e</sup> 23rd, being Ld's day, they lay watching at Br. Rich. Town's House, and hearing him read sent a Stranger to knock at his door, and so got in and took him. And because he would not find Sureties to appear at Gloucr, they sent him to Newgate.

Anno 1684. On y<sup>e</sup> 29th, they executed their Writs for £20 a month, and made a 3rd seizure of Mr. Burges' Goods, a Woollen Draper in High Street. Br. Thos. Child, being one of Mr. Ford's Jury, they endited him for not coming to Church, though he lives in Barton hundrd; and also Br. Millard, being also on y<sup>e</sup> sd Jury. Some friends therefore made Intercession with Wat., Lug, and Olive, and got them off for about £5 charges on y<sup>e</sup> 2nd of April. But y<sup>e</sup> next day there came out a Warrant from y<sup>e</sup> Justices and Ben. Hyett, Clark of y<sup>e</sup> Peace for Gloucr, now come to Bristol, to search after Mr. Young and his Family, to bind them over to Gloucr Sessions. So they were forc'd to leave their house (and Br. Child also, though they agreed for him) for y<sup>e</sup> present.

Ben. Hyett being come to Town, some did endeavour to mediate on behalf of Br. Messenger, who was of those that brought y<sup>e</sup> *Certiorari* at Gloucr; (but y<sup>e</sup> Chairman wld not allow it, but make them forfeit their Recognizance for not appearing, £100 a man; viz., each £40 himself, and three Sureties £20 each.) For they oft sought to take him, but did not. Tho' they broke in, and frightened his mother greatly; and another time, at 9 in y<sup>e</sup> evening, got in and abused his mother, threw her Down, trode upon one of his Sisters that had a young sucking Child in her Lap, like to have spoiled it and struck his Sr. Eliz. with a Stick on her Head, and made it swell. For all this abuse Lugg brings said Eliz. before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, and would have her bound over to Sessions. And tho' y<sup>e</sup> Justices saw they were Wronged, yet y<sup>e</sup> Mayor said, Seeing 'Tis as 'Tis, ask Mr. Lugg forgiveness; and made her do so. So they searched for Br. Messenger, but he escaped. However being poor, and not able to maintain his Mother and family unless at Liberty to work, We sought to buy his Peace with Olive, to whom Hyett left it, and upon giving Olive £12 he was released for y<sup>e</sup> Present.

On y<sup>e</sup> 4th, they send Mr. Ozyll Bussell's maid to prison, because she would not find Sureties.

On y<sup>e</sup> 5th, a Serjeant met with Br. Messenger, and brought him before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who would bind him over; but Olive told y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, Messenger had satisfied y<sup>e</sup> law. However, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor would

bind him to Bristol Sessions, because he did not come to his Worship when summon'd.

On y<sup>e</sup> 6th, being Ld's Day, Lug spies Peter Kineton, (foreman of Mr. Wood's Sugar-house,) going along the Street, and calls to him, and says, You must go before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor. Peter did not mind it, it being y<sup>e</sup> Ld's day, because of y<sup>e</sup> Act of Parliament that they could not serve a Warrant on y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day. But Lug follows him with 6 more Constables, and takes him before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, where Peter pleaded y<sup>e</sup> Illegality of y<sup>e</sup> action, disturbing him on y<sup>e</sup> Ld's day while going along y<sup>e</sup> Street. Y<sup>e</sup> mayor said, There was such an Act of Parliament, but that was nothing, or to that Purpose, and so made him promise to go to Gloucr on y<sup>e</sup> Morrow to y<sup>e</sup> Sessions, to answer for his being seen to go along from a Meeting, as they say, some months past.

On y<sup>e</sup> 7th, Y<sup>e</sup> Informers went to Gloucr to appear against about 80, bound over to y<sup>e</sup> Sessions, among whom were Br. Warren and old Br. Cornish.

On y<sup>e</sup> 9th, Dr. Chauncy being endited at Bristol, on 35th Eliz. was sent to Newgate. On y<sup>e</sup> 10th, Br. Warren was fined 10*l.* for a Riot, being at a Meeting near Roe Yate, and fees 47*s.*, which he paid in y<sup>e</sup> Hall at Gloucr. But Lug was forsworn in it, for he swore 'twas on y<sup>e</sup> 27, and it was y<sup>e</sup> 29th Day that y<sup>e</sup> meeting was. Old Br. Cornish was bound to appear again next Sessions, and several others. Some were fined 40*s.* and their fees, and released. Sr. Fowles put in prison at Gloucester. Some were fined 5 Marks, as Mr. Jos. Wey; some 5*l.*, as y<sup>e</sup> Justices pleas'd, and to lye in Prison till paid. About this Time Pug. Read died miserably, being an Informer, about 20 years old; had his skull broke, as said, by one of his Companions. He was one that broke into Mr. Terrill's House.

On y<sup>e</sup> 16th, Br. Dickason got out of prison, by giving Bail to appear next Bristol Sessions.

On y<sup>e</sup> 17th, y<sup>e</sup> Writs for £20 a month were executed on Mr. Burges, Grocer in High Street, and Mr. Ch. Harford in Wine Street.

On y<sup>e</sup> 27th, our Sr. Alice Cornish Dyed, one that walked with God, and was very useful in y<sup>e</sup> Church for 40 Years. One askt y<sup>e</sup> way of her to a Place, whom she directed, and then said, Do you know y<sup>e</sup> Way to Zion? See more of her in y<sup>e</sup> Waste-Book.

On y<sup>e</sup> 7th May, Mr. Young and his Wife, and Daughter Mary, were carried to y<sup>e</sup> Black Horse; but y<sup>e</sup> Constable let them go home on y<sup>e</sup> promise to appear next morning before Justice Meredith. Who would have bound Mr. Young over, but being told that he was related to my Lord Herbert, the Justice bade him bring an Order from my Lord in ten Days, or else he would bind him: and so did nothing for y<sup>e</sup> present. Aaron Watts informs y<sup>e</sup> Mayor that there was praying and preaching at Br. Lewis'; but being askt how many were present besides the family, he said but four. So

y<sup>e</sup> Mayor told him he could do nothing except there were more.

On y<sup>e</sup> 11th, being Ld's Day Evening, Jos. Badger had a child of about 1½ year old buried in our Yard. Y<sup>e</sup> Informers watch'd at an Alehouse, and while y<sup>e</sup> Company were in y<sup>e</sup> Burying-yard Lugg commands them to depart in y<sup>e</sup> K's name. So they all began to go away, but they would not let them until they had taken their names; which they carried to y<sup>e</sup> Mayor, who order'd y<sup>e</sup> matter to be try'd at Guildhall y<sup>e</sup> 14th instant. At which time a Jury was empanelled, and they were accused for a Riott; but y<sup>e</sup> Jury would not find it a Riot, but an unlawfull assembly for not burying in Consecrated Ground. So y<sup>e</sup> Mayor fined y<sup>e</sup> father of y<sup>e</sup> Child 40s., and Court fees came to about £3 in all.

On y<sup>e</sup> 24th, Wat. and his Compy knockt at Br. Dickason's Door while he was at family Prayer; and because y<sup>e</sup> maid did not presently let them in would have taken her away, and brought her down. But they being drunk, she escaped at a Back door.

On y<sup>e</sup> 27th, Lugg, Wat. and Joyner went to Westbury, to Jno. Harris who kept a Dayery there, threat'ning to drive away his Cattle if he would not pay them 7l. 10s. for being at a Meeting in y<sup>e</sup> fields last Nov., while he was servant to Mrs. Clark. So he being frighted takes them to Mrs. Clark, who passed her Word for y<sup>e</sup> Money, provided it must be paid. But they afterwards came again, and would drive away his Cattle if he would not pay them 10s. for y<sup>e</sup> present. So he was forced to pay it.

On y<sup>e</sup> 2nd June, 1684, they came to Br. Morgan, and carried away £20 worth in Goods, for his being at y<sup>e</sup> abovesaid Meeting in Novr. They had once before seiz'd his Goods, and he paid them £3 10s. for their release. And now they demanded 6l. 15s., though y<sup>e</sup> Warrant at first given by Justice Herbert was but for 7l. 15s. And y<sup>e</sup> poor man, by Loss of Debts lately, was not able to pay y<sup>e</sup> money. His Bed which he lay on was part of y<sup>e</sup> Goods they now took. Br. J. Ford has of late gone sometimes to his parish Church at Bitton, and was therefore visited by Br. Whinnell first, and then by Br. Terrill. He says he do not go till after Common-prayer, and would attend y<sup>e</sup> Meeting if kept in K's Wood, being still of y<sup>e</sup> same Mind as ever, but he could not come to Bristol. Fear and Love of his Estate thus far prevailed.

On y<sup>e</sup> 10th day, Sr. Clark of Southmead beyond Westbury was forced to pay y<sup>e</sup> 7l. 10s. for her man Jno. Harris.

On y<sup>e</sup> 14th, aged Sr. Pope died.

On y<sup>e</sup> 15th, y<sup>e</sup> Constables of Holland Ward passing by Br. Dickason's heard him at prayer, and would have come in; but he would not let them without a Warrant. So they went and fetched Aldm. Hicks out of his Church, and when he came Br. Dickason open'd his Door, and there was only Emanuel Young there besides his family. Him they made pay 1s. for not being at Church, and Br. Dickason the same for all in his Family; and he must appear to-morrow at Tolzey, and be bound for his good

Behaviour for not letting in y<sup>e</sup> Constables without a Warrant.

On y<sup>e</sup> 22nd, (Ld's day), Wat. and Company hearing Mr. Young's son reading search'd y<sup>e</sup> House and y<sup>e</sup> Malt, and said they had conveyed away y<sup>e</sup> People. And a fat man then went to y<sup>e</sup> maid a milking, and drunk y<sup>e</sup> milk, and then boasted at Baptist Mills, they had been drinking Godfather's milk.

On y<sup>e</sup> 23rd, Sr. Messenger, Widow, Dyed, and was buried in James' Yard. Wat. having seen Mr. Young's son, apprentice with Br. Bodenham, on the Highway, got a Warrant against him for being at a Meeting, in Spite to his father. So the Young man hid for some time, and afterwards went to Sea. Wat. had oft askt his master 3 guineas to make it up, and Mr. Bodenham had offered him  $\frac{1}{2}$  so much. But Mr. Terrill perswaded him to give him £3 provided he would clear him and Mr. Clark, a young attorney, who had been forc'd to break up his family, and Retire into the Country 3 months before. So Wat. agreeing he would trouble neither of them for what was past, on the 5th of July Mr. Bodenham paid him the £3, and Mr. Terrill said he would pay him again for Mr. Clark.

On y<sup>e</sup> 10th, We kept a Day of Prayer in 4 parts, there being a general Muster of y<sup>e</sup> Artillery, because Officers were sworn, and y<sup>e</sup> E. of Worcester brought y<sup>e</sup> City's New Charter. On which day Wat. had been drinking an Health to y<sup>e</sup> Confusion of y<sup>e</sup> Fanatics, and then sicken'd that he could not go to Gloucr to prosecute our friends, especially Mr. Young, foreman of Mr. Ford's Jury, whom he had endited for 20l. a month, and said he would pin him fast. But on y<sup>e</sup> same Day y<sup>e</sup> sessions sat at Gloucr, y<sup>e</sup> 16th. Wat. Dyed, and was naild fast in his Coffin, and Mr. Young and his family were cleared. Ezek. xvi. 50.

On y<sup>e</sup> 20th, our morning meeting at Br. Dickason's was disturbed by y<sup>e</sup> Constables, who heard him at prayer, and came in; and seeing 4 besides y<sup>e</sup> family fetcht Sr Robt. Cann and Aldm. Hicks from Church, who diligently searcht every part of his House to find more, but could not. Aldm. Hicks would have sent them all to prison, but Sr Robert would not; but took their Words one for another to appear on Tolzey next morning. Only Emanuel Young they sent to Newgate, without Mitimus, to be kept till morning. Y<sup>e</sup> next day they appear, viz., Br. Dickason and his Wife, Emanl. Young, Sr. Webb, Allen, Widow, and Wheeler, when Br. Dickason was greatly set at naught, and charg'd with harbouring people in Sermon time. His Mitimus was made and seal'd, because he said they agreed together to make y<sup>e</sup> Thing a Crime. But upon much Intercession, and promise not to have meetings at his House, he was respited till Sessions. Sr. Allen went away while they were so long about him. Sr. Webb and Wheeler bid to lay down their 12d. apiece. And they would have Sr. Webb promise to go to Meeting no more, else they would not take her 1s. She desired 2 or 3 days to consider of it.

On y<sup>e</sup> 27th, our Meeting of about 40 at Br. Purnell's was discovered by a Smith's Wife. Who seeing y<sup>e</sup> people go, leaves her husband to watch while she fetcht a Constable, but meeting with one that took little notice of it, there came Intelligence before any came. So we escaped.

Our Pastour, and Mr. Young y<sup>e</sup> Minister had lain in Gaol in Gloucester near a year and a  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Mr. Fownes was put in upon y<sup>e</sup> Corporation Act at Easter Sessions. Br. Fownes himself pleaded to an Enditement for a Riot in K's Wood, and so convinced y<sup>e</sup> Jury that they brought him in not guilty. But tho' they then had nothing against him, Justice Player and Chancellor Parsons would not let him go, unless he would give Bond for his good Behaviour,—that is, he must meet no more,—which our Pastour would not do. Then y<sup>e</sup> Next Sessions they would not let him go unless he would give Bond to appear at Bristol Sessions, and to be of good Behaviour; which was still worse. And, therefore, now at y<sup>e</sup> Assizes, by Counsel, Br. Fownes moved his Case to Judge Levins, who, they say, would have cleared him; but y<sup>e</sup> Chancellor Parsons was heard to whisper him that Mr. Fownes and Young were dangerous persons, and it was not safe to y<sup>e</sup> Government to let them go. Then y<sup>e</sup> Judge ordered they should give good Bail, £100 each, and appear next Assizes. After y<sup>e</sup> Court arose they provided their Bail, but Hyett said y<sup>e</sup> order was, they should be bound also to appear at Bristol; and though Dike y<sup>e</sup> Counsellor said it was not so, yet y<sup>e</sup> Judge hurrying out of Town, they had not time to apply to him, and so were continued to Prison.

On y<sup>e</sup> 15th Fran. Whitehead was brought to y<sup>e</sup> Sessions here, and having got a Lawyer to search y<sup>e</sup> Records at Gloucr, pleaded before y<sup>e</sup> Mayor there was no Inditement lodg'd against him; but because Lug said there was, he was sent to Newgate again, where he had lain 6 Months, because he would not be bound to Sessions at Gloucester. Then Br. Cornish was menaced about his speaking against y<sup>e</sup> Common Prayer, and charged to go to Church that Hellier might see him there, and then he should be discharged. On this Day also, they passed a Sentence of Banishment on Dr. Icabod Chauncy, and made him swear that he would depart this City and Nation within 3 Months from this Port and no other, and never return without y<sup>e</sup> K's leave. Y<sup>e</sup> Dr. was very chearful under all, tho' he had been above 4 Months in Newgate already. This day also Br. Dickason was severely handled about y<sup>e</sup> meeting of 4 persons at his house, and y<sup>e</sup> Town-Clark threatned to serve him as he had done Dr. Chauncy; but afterwards Br. Dickason gave y<sup>e</sup> Town-Clark two Guineas, and so he got off this Sessions. And Br. Town went by advice beforehand to y<sup>e</sup> Town-Clark, and besought his Pity of a poor man and several Children; and Mr. Yates also speaking to y<sup>e</sup> Town-Clerk for him, he paid his Fees only, and was released.

On y<sup>e</sup> 29th, Dr. Chauncy went privately to London, in order to go to Holland. And on y<sup>e</sup> 2nd of 7ber, Br. R. Dennis dyed, and was buried in our burying-Place. On y<sup>e</sup> same day y<sup>e</sup> Sheriffs, by their Deputy Oldfield, made Distress by y<sup>e</sup> Writs of £20 a month, on Br. Sam. Hunt, of 2 Butts of Brandy, which they valued at £36, and unless he would give £30 they would carry them away. So he was forced to get a friend to buy them at that Price. Not long before, they seized Mr. Bailey y<sup>e</sup> Pewterer's Goods.

On y<sup>e</sup> 16th, several of our brethren, Br. Hunt, Wm. Dickason, &c., and many more, were summoned by y<sup>e</sup> Apparitor to y<sup>e</sup> Bp's Court, for not receiving y<sup>e</sup> Ld's Supper. We had now a Bp from y<sup>e</sup> Isle of Man, y<sup>e</sup> other, and his Officers too, being dead.

On y<sup>e</sup> 7th, near 20 more friends were indited for 11 months' not coming to Church; among which were Mr. Young, and his Wife, and Son, and daughter Mary, Br. Child and Br. Millard, as recusants. And Br. Fownes being brought into Court was by Powell y<sup>e</sup> Chairman called a Ringleader, Turbulent, Seditious, and told he must find £600 Bail to appear next Sessions at Bristol, and be of good Behaviour, or lye in Prison. And justice Player said he should be endited at Bristol, it is supposed on 35 Eliz.

Oct. 10. New Mayor and Sheriffs being chosen, James Twyford, Sheriff, threatens to find out our little meetings, and he would be like *Death,—Spare none.*

Nov. 3. Sister Munday, of Bussleton, departed this Life, and was buried there.

Dec. 17th. Sr Thos. Earl and Sr Jno. Knight, both great Persecutors, put out of y<sup>e</sup> Council here, Deut. xxxii. 35. See Waste-Book.

On y<sup>e</sup> 31st of Dec., aged Sr. Hall died.

Jan. 11. Joyner, keeper of Bridewell, went to several houses in Castle Green, to hearken for a Meeting, and would heave up y<sup>e</sup> Latches; and so doing, he espy'd Sr. Clark go to see her cousin Bishop that was sick. And thereupon he fetches several Constables, and searcht y<sup>e</sup> House, but found none else there. A Servant-man, seeing them go up and down all over y<sup>e</sup> House, bid Joyner take heed that he took nothing; but y<sup>e</sup> man had like to be sent to prison for such an abuse of y<sup>e</sup> K's Officers, and there was much Entreaty to save him.

Jan. 13th. At y<sup>e</sup> Quarter Sessions, B. Fownes was treated as before, and Justice Powell y<sup>e</sup> Chairman told him, Sr Richd. Hart of Bristol should say he was a dangerous man. So they still kept him there at Gloucr. Prisoner.

1685. On y<sup>e</sup> 29th of Nov., 1685, OUR PASTOUR, BR. FOWNES, DYED IN GLOUCESTER JAIL, having been kept there for *Two years and about 9 months* a Prisoner, unjustly and maliciously, for y<sup>e</sup> Testimony of Jesus and preaching y<sup>e</sup> Gospel. He was a man of great Learning, of a sound Judgment, an able Preacher, having great knowledge in Divinity, Law, Physic, &c.; a bold, patient

Sufferer for y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus, and y<sup>e</sup> Gospel he preacht.

Jan. 4. Our Sr. Stephens departed this Life. She was a woman of a holy Conversation, full of Grace and Love to y<sup>e</sup> Lord; one that had great Assurance of her interest in Christ. She died in a Single state.

Jan. 12. By several Brethren in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> Church, sent a letter to Br. Ellis, who is now in London, to desire him to return to us, and his Office in y<sup>e</sup> Church, &c. 2ndly, Agreed that Br. Bodenham, Dickason, Clark, Whinnel, should visit as many of y<sup>e</sup> Members as neglected their Duty in assembling, and as many others as they saw meet. 3dly, That two go to Sr. Smith, and stir up her to Work in visiting, &c., as a Deaconess, and that Sr. Lux be desired to assist her, because of Sr. Walton's inability.

On y<sup>e</sup> 13th, we kept a Day of Prayer in 3 parts in Peace.

1686. June. Sr. Bodenham, Wife of Br. R. Bodenham, decd, after a long and grievous affliction. She was a Woman of a lively Temper, a Promoter of good Works. She dyed in y<sup>e</sup> flower of her Age, and had much satisfaction in y<sup>e</sup> Lord.

July 25. We had a church-meeting at Sr. Terrill's. We were in Peace. A good day for y<sup>e</sup> Church, after 3 years and five months' interruption of full Assemblies; partly occasion'd by our violent Persecutours, and partly our own fears and Backwardness. At this meeting y<sup>e</sup> members were desired to bring in their Contributions for y<sup>e</sup> Poor to y<sup>e</sup> Deacons, who complained of great Neglect on that Account. Some Brethren that had not made good their Places of late were sent to; and y<sup>e</sup> church were desired to consider of some person to be chosen a ruling Elder, in y<sup>e</sup> place of dear Br. Terrill, decd.

Sister Lux and Sr. Webb departed this life. And Brother Gwillim was chosen to be a ruling Elder.

1687. When y<sup>e</sup> Church, after above 5 years, returned to their old Meeting-place, Br. Vauxe was chosen Pastour, Apr. 28, 1687, at Br. Bodenham's, on a day of Prayer set apart for that purpose. And at this meesing several Persons were sent to for Omissions of Duty in y<sup>e</sup> Times of our late Troubles.

On y<sup>e</sup> 5th May, We kept a Day of Prayer, preparatory to y<sup>e</sup> Ld's Supper, at Br. Vauxe's.

On y<sup>e</sup> 8th, y<sup>e</sup> Church sate down at y<sup>e</sup> Ld's Table. Brother Vaux administered, and it was a comfortable opportunity.<sup>69</sup>

3d Mo., 22nd day. Upon y<sup>e</sup> request of y<sup>e</sup> Church at Chipping Sodbury, together with our Br. Jennings his concurrence with them, y<sup>e</sup> Church sent them a Letter of dismission for Bro. Jennings, who was before recommended to them from us to assist them in y<sup>e</sup> Ministry, but was not resigned up to them. But now being called by them to be their pastour, we thought good to resign him up unto them, and to y<sup>e</sup> work whereto y<sup>e</sup> Lord had called him.

<sup>69</sup> Fosket's handwriting ceases at this point.



To y<sup>e</sup> church of Christ meeting at Chipping Sodbury, in y<sup>e</sup> county of Gloucester.

Grace be to you and peace from God our Father, and from y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus Christ.

Dearly beloved Brethren,—We have Recd your Letter of y<sup>e</sup> 15th instant, and are deeply Sensible of your Condition, and heartily ready and willing to contribute our mite of assistance to promote, what in us lyeth, y<sup>e</sup> honour and glory of God, y<sup>e</sup> Interest of our dear Lord Jesus, y<sup>e</sup> Conversion of Sinners, and y<sup>e</sup> building up of Sts. among you. And tho' our Beloved Bro. Jennings be very dear unto us, and we very loath to part with him, yet, upon this weighty account, God having pitched your thoughts upon him, and inclined his heart, and made him willing to undertake y<sup>e</sup> burden, we cannot, we dare not, detain him from you, but freely give our consent for his coming to you, and taking upon him that great and weighty work, beseeching y<sup>e</sup> Father of mercies to Strengthen him mightily in order thereunto, to double and treble his gifts and graces, to prosper his labours among you, wonderfully to assist him with his holy Spirit, and to crown his endeavours with good Success, That many Souls may by his ministry be brought into y<sup>e</sup> Fold of our dear Lord Jesus. And we pray you, Brethren, pray for us, that we may be enabled to adorne our Christian Profession with a holy, humble, harmless, and spotless Conversation. And we, as in duty bound, shall begg y<sup>e</sup> very God of peace to Sanctify you wholly, that your whole Spirit, and Soul, and Body may be preserved blameless, unto y<sup>e</sup> coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; in whose everlasting arms of mercy we leave you, and remain, Your Christian Brethren in y<sup>e</sup> faith and fellowship of y<sup>e</sup> gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Signed in y<sup>e</sup> name, and by y<sup>e</sup> order of y<sup>e</sup> whole Church.  
Bristol, y<sup>e</sup> 22nd of y<sup>e</sup> 3rd Mo., 1687.

*Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 16th day of y<sup>e</sup> 4th Mo., being our monthly day of Prayer, kept at Broth. Bodenham's, our Sister Hester Branch was spoken with, who gave an account of y<sup>e</sup> work of grace on her Soul. Y<sup>e</sup> Church was satisfied therewith to Receive her.

*Upon* this day of Prayer, our Bro. Thomas Whinnell, having Recd a Call from y<sup>e</sup> Church at y<sup>e</sup> Devizes, and another from y<sup>e</sup> Church at Taunton, to take upon him y<sup>e</sup> Pastoral work, and because he Lookt on himself unfit for so weighty an undertaking, and both Congregations nevertheless very importunate to gett him, he desired y<sup>e</sup> Church, upon seeking God by prayer for direction, to consider y<sup>e</sup> matter and to give him their advice, whether it was a duty incumbent on him to leave this City, or may be most for God's glory for him to move to either of y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid places; who gave their Judgment for his abiding in Bristol.

*Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 17th day of y<sup>e</sup> 4th Mo. Hester Branch was baptized,

and with her Sister Rose Teague was also Baptized in y<sup>e</sup> River From. Shee was an Antient Member of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, and by y<sup>e</sup> goodness of God at last convinced of a long-neglected duty. Bro. Vauxe Administrator.

*Upon y<sup>e</sup> 19th of y<sup>e</sup> aforesd Mo, Hester Branch was Recd a Member into y<sup>e</sup> Church, at y<sup>e</sup> time of y<sup>e</sup> Churches meeting to Break Bread.*

*Upon y<sup>e</sup> 14th of y<sup>e</sup> 5th Mo, at a day of Prayer held at Bro. Gwilliam's, at Redclift Hill, y<sup>e</sup> Church Considering their Pastor's Mr. Vauxe's weakness, and their necessities, thought good to lay some other engagement on Bro. Whinnell to keep him amongst them, and therefore gave him a call to y<sup>e</sup> Office of a Ruling Elder and Teacher to this Church. To which Call, he gave y<sup>e</sup> Church this following answer. 1st, That they had somewhat surprized him, their call being unexpected by him. 2ly, That he looked on himself altogether unfitt to undertake such a work amongst them, for divers reasons known to himself. 3ly, That his circumstances were such at present, being under, as he supposed, greater calls from other Congregations, that he could not in Judgment and Conscience accept of their call. To which they Replied, that they could not impose it on him, but would leave it to him to consider of it, and not to think of leaving y<sup>e</sup> church here.*

*Upon y<sup>e</sup> 24th day of this month, there came two friends from y<sup>e</sup> Devizes to desire y<sup>e</sup> Congregations to spare Br Whinnell to them. But after some time of debate, y<sup>e</sup> Church still refusing to spare Br. Whinnell, Br. Gifford, being then present, told y<sup>e</sup> Friends they had gone so far as they could, and that now y<sup>e</sup> matter must be left wholly to be determined in Bro. Whinnell's own mind.*

*Upon y<sup>e</sup> 31st day of this Mo, y<sup>e</sup> Church agreed to send y<sup>e</sup> following answer to a Letter from y<sup>e</sup> Church at Taunton.*

To y<sup>e</sup> Church of Christ at Taunton.

Y<sup>e</sup> Church of Christ meeting in Broadmead, in y<sup>e</sup> Citty of Bristol, send greeting in our Lord.

Dearly beloved Brethren,—We Salute you in our Lord, wishing grace, mercy, and peace may be multiplied to you abundantly, through y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and that you may approve of things that are excellent in his Sight, always abounding therein to y<sup>e</sup> praise of y<sup>e</sup> glory of his grace, who hath called you to grace and vertue.

Now these are to lett you understand that we have lately Recd a Letter from you, with many names affixed, but without date (yet y<sup>e</sup> truth of which we do not dispute), wherein you narrate to us your present Sad and Lamentable estate, for want of one to administer y<sup>e</sup> ordinances of Christ to you; and having sought, as you say, all means to procure one, and yet cannot obtain, you

make it your earnest desire to us, that we would spare our Bro. Whinnell, (of whose gifts you have had some good and comfortable experience of,) to supply that place amongst you.

We must now answer, having weighed what you do say therein :  
1st. Your great wants as a church of Christ of such a minister.  
2ly. Y<sup>e</sup> great call of others in that place. 3ly. Y<sup>e</sup> great encouragement of doing much good in that place. All which we do concern ourselves with in much Seriousness, and would our utmost to further in anything that might suit with our own well-being, and y<sup>e</sup> glory of Christ in this place. But as to y<sup>e</sup> person desired by you, we cannot satisfie ourselves to answer your desire therein, least we should fall under y<sup>e</sup> same complaints as you do in a little time. But in y<sup>e</sup> next place, we have lately parted with one ministring Brother already, to y<sup>e</sup> Church at Sodbury, in their Sad and deplorable estate which fell upon them by y<sup>e</sup> defect of Bro. Nobbs, so that we are y<sup>e</sup> more necessitated to keep our Bro. Whinnell with us. Besides, our Pastour being aged, and under such infirmities of body as he is, that sometimes our own meetings in his Illness may be lost for y<sup>e</sup> present, if we have not our bro. Whinnell to supply them, and help carry on y<sup>e</sup> work here. And for us to suffer such a meeting in such a populous City as this is go unsupplied (as once it did), would be greatly to y<sup>e</sup> dishonour of God, and that which our adversaries would be glad to see; who we are not willing to gratifie while we may prevent it; and therefore beseech you to desist any further suit herein. But besides, our brother is now stated in y<sup>e</sup> church a teaching Elder, by y<sup>e</sup> consent and choice of y<sup>e</sup> whole; and we cannot make our own act void again. Neither do we see reason enough by what is offered, so to do, (if we could). Tho' we really pity your case, and should be glad to do anything we can to promote y<sup>e</sup> glory of y<sup>e</sup> Lord there, that may stand with y<sup>e</sup> glory of y<sup>e</sup> Lord in this Citty, where we are most immediately concern'd as eye-witnesses of. We commit you to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, and remain,

Your Brethren in y<sup>e</sup> kingdom and patience of Christ.

Signed on behalf of y<sup>e</sup> whole Church, this 20th July, 87.

*Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 18th day of y<sup>e</sup> 7th Mo., being our day for breaking bread, y<sup>e</sup> Church having some time before called our Beloved Bro. Mr. Thomas Vauxe, to y<sup>e</sup> Pastoral work on tryall, did now unanimously give him their approbation in order to his ordination, wch was signified sollemnly by their Suffrages, or lifting up their hands.

*Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 13th day of y<sup>e</sup> 8th Mo, being our day of Prayer at Broth. Whinnell's, Str. Williamson and Str. Davis, junior, were proposed to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, and declared y<sup>e</sup> work of God on their Souls, wherewith y<sup>e</sup> Church was satisfy'd; and they were Baptized in y<sup>e</sup> River From, y<sup>e</sup> day following, by Broth Vauxe, and received as members y<sup>e</sup> Ld's day following.

*Upon* y<sup>e</sup> 10th day of y<sup>e</sup> 9 Mo., being our day of Prayer, at

Broth. Bodenham's, Str Edith Clark was proposed to y<sup>e</sup> Congregation, and made profession of her faith in y<sup>e</sup> Lord Jesus, and declared her experience of y<sup>e</sup> work of grace on her Soul; wherewith y<sup>e</sup> Church was satisfied. And shee was Baptized y<sup>e</sup> day following, by Broth Vauxe in y<sup>e</sup> River Froom, and received a member into y<sup>e</sup> fellowship of this Church y<sup>e</sup> Lord's day following.

## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used:

- AB: Associated with Broadmead Congregation.  
 AC: Associated with the Independent Congregation.  
 AP: Associated with the Presbyterian Congregation.  
 APB: Associated with the Pithay Particular Baptist Congregation.  
 BAL: Bristol Apprentice Lists, Vol. II.  
 BBL: Broadmead Letters collected by F. E. Lewis, 1923.  
 BBR: Burial Register of Broadmead & Pithay Churches, Vol. I.  
 BGAS: Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society volumes.  
 BQ: Baptist Quarterly.  
 Bristol Sessions Book: The various record books of Bristol Quarter Sessions identified by the years they cover.  
 CR: A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 1934.  
 Crosby: T. Crosby, *A History of the English Baptists*, 1811-30.  
 CSPD: Calender of State Papers Domestic.  
 DNB: Dictionary of National Biography.  
 Edwards: Edwards, *Gangraena*.  
 Expositions: T. Hardcastle, Expositions of Westminster Catechism and Colossians Chapter One. Transcribed by E. Terrill.  
 IJM: The Isaac James MSS abridgement of Broadmead & Pithay Church Records.  
 Ivimey: J. Ivimey, *History of English Baptists*, 1738-40.  
 Latimer: J. Latimer, *Annals of Seventeenth Century Bristol*.  
 MBL: E. Ralphs, *Marriage Bond Licences for City of Bristol, 1633-1700*.  
 MVS: The Bristol Merchant Venturers' Society.  
 OR: G. L. Turner, *Original Records of Nonconformity*.  
 Records: The Broadmead Records begun by E. Terrill and continued by others.  
 Records XV: Notes in the back of the original book, which Underhill often transcribed into text of his edition.  
 Richards: T. Richards, *The Puritan Movement in Wales, 1639-53* (1920).  
 TBHS: *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*.  
 Underhill: E. B. Underhill's edition of *Broadmead Records*, 1847.  
 Wing: Wing's Catalogue of Books.

## APPENDICES

- (a) List of persons signing call to G. Fownes in 1679 given in Terrill's original text, but omitted from Haycroft's text, p. 195.

Tho. Ellis, ruling elder.	Robert Bodenham.
Richard King.	Tho. Child.
William Dickason, deacon.	Ann Ellis, Snr.
Edw. Willis.	Martha Tilly.
Robert Lewis.	Elizabeth Lux.
Jos. Clarke.	Eleanor Brookes.
James Lewis.	Susanna Davis.
James Bland.	Silvester Saunders.
Tho. Reeves.	Ann Ellis, jnr.
Sam. Hunt.	Martha Griffyn.
Tho. Jones.	Mary Jennings.
Tho. Arney.	Elizabeth Williamson.
Nich. Gregory.	Judith Maynard.
Edward Terrill, ruling elder.	Martha Shuter.
Nathaniel Snead.	Mary Dawson.
John Fry.	Mary Shuter, Snr.
Henry Davis.	Martha Codner.
John Morgan.	Mabell Turtle.
Fran. Whitehead.	Mary Orchard.
Wm. Kemp.	Hannah Moseley.
Edward Ekeley.	Eliza. Guillem (Gwilliam).
Joshua Bryan.	Rose Teague.
Benj. Warren.	Martha Ridley.
John Robertson.	Margaret Williams.
Tho. Hall.	Eliza. Shuter.
Wm. Evans.	Mary Young.
John Ford, deacon.	Joane Rawlins.
Roger Hill.	Katharine Evans, Snr.
Tho. Tyler.	Sarah Tyler.
John Purnell.	Mary James.
Richard Dennis.	Grace Price.
John Cornish.	Sarah Smyth.
John Messenger.	Joane Dickason.
Thomas Jennings.	Eliza. Williams.
Richard Town.	Martha Spurgeon.

Sarah Papall.	Mrs. Phelps.
Joane Munday.	Martha Parsons.
Sarah Young.	Eliz. Gough.
Dorothy Smyth.	Grace Parsons.
Margaret Webb, deaconness.	Bridgett Bland.
Mary Hill.	Martha Coombes.
Bridget Hill.	Mary Skinner.
Anne Kimbar.	Hannah Lingwood.
Anne Jones, Snr.	Thomas Pope.
Susan Dennis.	Anne Ekely.
Anne Jones, Jnr.	Eliza. Days.
Eliza. Stevens.	Mary Webb.
S. Ciceley Whittington.	Bathsheba Hall.
Margaret Shawles.	Eliza. Rowley.
Eliza. Morgan.	Mary Feild.
Sarah Williams.	Mary Evans.
Margar: Sterry.	Mary Knight.
Judith Morgan.	Rachell Hickmond.
Alice Cornish.	Katharine Bowyer.
Joane White.	Anne Atkins.
Grace Poulden.	Sarah Edwards.
Anne Hughes.	Joyce Kenton.
Sarah Evans (of Castle).	Anne Vaughan.
Alice Bowles.	Mary Webb.
Anne Messenger.	Joane Walton.
Hester Forde.	Sarah Allen.
Sarah Snead.	Eliza. Messenger.
Rachell Clarke.	Mary Hues (of Horvill).
Cecily Lewis.	Barbara Whitehead.
Mary Phillips.	Eliza. Betterton.
Fran: Hill.	Lydia Walters.
Eliza. Jourden.	

- (b) List of members in 1679, when G. Fownes took pastoral charge, given in Terrill's original text, but omitted from Haycroft's text, p. 205.

## BRETHREN

Fownes, pastor, baptised.	Robert Cornish, baptised.
Ellis, ruling elder.	Bodenham, baptised.
Terrill, ruling elder, baptised.	Willis, baptised.
Jennings, baptised.	Feildust, baptised.
Forde, deacon, baptised.	Bland, baptised.
Dickason, deacon, baptised.	Rivers, baptised.
Gwilliam, baptised.	Hall, baptised.
Ekeley.	John Cornish, baptised.

Messenger, baptised.  
 Warren, baptised.  
 Child, baptised.  
 Robert Lewis, baptised.  
 Bryan, baptised.  
 Army, baptised.  
 Robertson, baptised.  
 Tho. Jones, baptised.  
 James Lewis, baptised.  
 Snead, baptised.  
 Towne, baptised.  
 Fry, baptised.  
 Dennis, baptised.  
 Purnell, baptised.

Davis, baptised.  
 Hill.  
 Hunt, senior, baptised.  
 Whitehead, baptised.  
 Clarke, baptised.  
 Kemp, baptised.  
 Morgan, baptised.  
 Evans, baptised.  
 King.  
 Tyler.  
 White, baptised.  
 Gregory, baptised.  
 Shuter, baptised.

## SISTERS

Griffen.  
 Davis, baptised.  
 Jones, senior.  
 Jones, junior, baptised.  
 Bland.  
 Lux.  
 Atkins, baptised.  
 Parsons, Clifton, baptised.  
 Hill, Key, baptised.  
 Daniell.  
 Webb.  
 Moseley.  
 Knight.  
 Gough.  
 Morgan, Back, baptised.  
 Williams, Thom., baptised.  
 Mary Phillips, baptised.  
 Dawson.  
 Papewell, baptised.  
 Skinker, baptised.  
 Joyce Kineton.  
 James, baptised.  
 Brookes, baptised.  
 Gwilliam.  
 Williamson.  
 Cornish, baptised.  
 Hughes, of Horvill, baptised.  
 Combe, baptised.  
 Field, baptised.  
 Hall, baptised.

Betterton.  
 Rowley, baptised.  
 Lewis, baptised.  
 Hughes, baptised.  
 Ridley, baptised.  
 Smith, Philips, baptised.  
 Jennings, baptised.  
 Poulden, baptised.  
 Young, senior, baptised.  
 Mary Young, baptised.  
 Morgan, baptised.  
 Anne Vaughan, baptised.  
 Jervis, baptised.  
 Goodman, baptised.  
 Webb, junior, baptised.  
 Dickason, baptised.  
 Williams, baptised.  
 Whitehead, baptised.  
 Kimbar, baptised.  
 Dapwell, baptised.  
 Saunders, baptised.  
 Spurgin.  
 Ekeley, baptised.  
 Walton, deaconess, baptised.  
 Allen, baptised.  
 Ellis, junior.  
 Messenger, senior, baptised.  
 Messenger, junior, baptised.  
 Bowles, baptised.  
 Stephens, baptised.



Rose, baptised.	Turtle.
Whittington, baptised.	Eleanor Morgan, baptised.
Pockeridge, baptised.	Phelps.
Hill, elder, Hollow, baptised.	Dennis, baptised.
Fran. Hill, baptised.	Dayos.
Smith, deaconess, baptised.	Shute, baptised.
Clarke, baptised.	Snead, baptised.
Jourdan, baptised.	Rachel Clarke, baptised.
Sterry, baptised.	Ewins, baptised.
Ellis, senior, baptised.	Shaells, baptised.
Hickman, baptised.	Prior, baptised.
Mainard.	Evans, Castle, baptised.
Pope, baptised.	Lingwood, baptised.
Edwards.	Boyer, baptised.
Shuter, senior.	Evans, senior, baptised.
Shuter, junior, baptised.	Mary Evans, baptised.
Codner, baptised.	Rawlins, baptised.
Orchard, baptised.	White, widow, baptised.
White.	Shipp, baptised.
Tyler.	Trigg, baptised.
Munday, baptised.	Sarah, Lewellin, baptised.
Morgan, Temple, baptised.	Margaret Williams, baptised.
Forde, baptised.	Elizabeth England, baptised.
Lydia Waters, baptised.	Loyd, baptised.

#### MEMBERS REMOVED BY HABITATION

Brother Pritchard, Bath Easton, bap.  
 Brother Teather, Hollow, Trow, bap.  
 Sister Marsh, by Abergavenny, bap.  
 Sister Oviatt, at Southampton, bap.  
 Sister Barnes, by Magor.  
 Sister Parlin, had a letter, Waterford, bap.  
 Sister Clarke, London, bap.  
 Sister Hazly, London, bap.  
 Sister Collins, Sherston.  
 Sister Simms, Axbridge, bap.

#### MEMBERS UNDER DEALING

Anne and Mary Virgin, Cork, bap.  
 Brother Robert Jones, at New England, bap.  
 Brother Henry Forde, London.  
 Brother Lingwood, of Bristol, since received in again and baptised.  
 Sister Adams, at Nevis, bap.

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### (i) *Manuscript materials at Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol.*

*Records*: The first volume dates from 1640-1784, and was begun by Edward Terrill c. 1672. From 1680 the entries are in other hands than Terrill's, and there is a gap from 1687 to 1720, although there are references to the years 1689, 1690, and 1693. In its early form a personal chronicle the *Records* later develop into a Minute Book of the Church Meetings. The text of the present volume is based on this volume from 1640-1687.

*Broadmead Letters*: These relate to the period 1644 to 1918, and were gathered together by F. Essex Lewis. They include printed material, and most of it relates to the 17th and 18th centuries.

*IJM*: This is the Isaac James Manuscript. It is an abridgement of the Minutes of the Broadmead Church from 1640-1795 made by Isaac James, who was a deacon of Broadmead in the early 19th century. The entries were continued by William Warren, whose son Robert Hall Warren gave the volume back to Broadmead in 1925. Isaac James also made an extract of the Minutes of the Pithay Baptist Church, and these are the sole records existing of that church.

*Thomas Hardcastle Letters from prison*: These were transcribed by Edward Terrill, and were reprinted in the *Underhill* edition of the Broadmead Records, 1847.

A complete list of manuscripts and books held by Broadmead, Bristol, will be found in *BQ*, XXIII, Oct. 1970, pp. 357-59.

### (ii) *Manuscript materials held at Bristol Baptist College.*

*Expositions*: Thomas Hardcastle's Expositions of the Shorter Catechism, and Colossians, chapter 1, transcribed by Edward Terrill.

*Letters*: Letters from Vavasor Powell to Walter Prosser and Thomas Hardcastle; and from "a church in London" to Thomas Ewins, and Broadmead.

*The Gloucestershire Ministers Testimony* to the truth of Jesus Christ and to the Solemn League and Covenant (1648) London.

(iii) *Other works consulted.*

- Brook, Benjamin: *The Lives of the Puritans*, 1813, London. 3 Vols.  
*BRS*: Various publications of the Bristol Record Society.
- Crosby, Thomas: *History of the English Baptists*, 1738-40, London. 4 Vols.
- Calamy, Edmund: *The Nonconformist Memorial*, 1822, London. Edited by Palmer.
- Cragg, G. R.: *Puritanism in the Great Persecution*, 1957, CUP.  
*The Church in the Age of Reason*, 1960, Pelican.  
*From Puritanism to the Age of Reason*, 1950, CUP.
- Clarke, Samuel: *General Martyrology*, 1677, London.
- Caston, M.: *Independency in Bristol*, 1860, Bristol.
- Child, R. L., and Shipley, C. E.: *Broadmead Church, Bristol: A study in Origins*, 1940.
- Ewins, Thomas: *The Church of Christ in Bristol Recovering her Vail*, 1657, London.
- Griffiths, J.: *A Short Account of the Bridge Street Chapel, Bristol*, 1955.
- Hardcastle, Thomas: *A New and Useful Concordance*, 1673, London.  
*Christian Geography and Arithmetic*, 1674, London.
- Hollister, Dennis: *The Skirts of the Whore Discovered*, 1656, London.  
*The Harlot's Vail Removed*, 1658, London.
- Ivimey, Joseph: *A History of the English Baptists*, 1811-30, London. 4 Vols.
- Jones, Ignatius: *Bristol Congregationalism*, 1947, Bristol.
- Latimer, John: *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*. Bristol 1900.
- Murch, J.: *A History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England*, 1835, London.
- Matthews, A. G.: *Calamy Revised*, 1934, Oxford.
- Mortimer, R. S.: *History of Bristol Quakerism*. Unpublished Bristol MA thesis, 1946.
- Neale, Daniel: *History of the Puritans*, 1822, edited by Nichols.
- Nuttall, G. F.: *Visible Saints, 1640-1660*, 1957, Oxford.  
*Welsh Saints*, University of Wales.
- Palmer, A. N.: *History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*, 1886, Wrexham.  
*A History of the older Nonconformity of Wrexham and its Neighbourhood*, 1888, Wrexham.
- Purnell, Robert: *Good Tydings for Sinners, Great Joy for Saints*, 1649, London.  
*No Power but of God, And yet a Power in Every Creature*, 1652, London.  
*England's Remonstrance*, 1653, London.

*The Way to Heaven Discovered*, 1653, London.

*A Little Cabinet richly stored*, 1657, London.

*The Way step by step to a Sound and Saving Conversion*, 1659, London.

Prynne, W. and Walker: *Prosecution, arraignment and tryall of Col. Nathaniell Fiennes*, 1644, London.

Rees, T.: *Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, 1883, London.

Richards, Thomas: *The Puritan Movement in Wales, 1639-53*, 1920, London.

Ralphs, E.: *Marriage Bonds of the Diocese of Bristol, 1633-1700*, n.d., Bristol.

Sanigar, W. T.: *Barton Hill*. Reprint from the Shaftesbury Magazine, 1920, Bristol.

Stanley, J.: *In Days of Old*, 1912, Hereford.

Skinner, E. F.: *Nonconformity in Shropshire, 1662-1816*, 1964, Shrewsbury.

Underhill, E. B.: *Confessions of Faith*, 1854, London.

Whitley, W. T.: *A Baptist Bibliography*, 1909, 2 Vols.

*Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England*, 1916, London, 2 Vols.

Whiting, C. E.: *Studies in English Puritanism, 1660-1688*, 1931, SPCK.

Williams, W. T.: *A Short History of the Old King Street Chapel, Bristol*, 1955, Bristol.

## INDICES

### (a) People mentioned *only* in the Introduction.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Abbott, —, Mr. (London), 40<br/>           Adams, (nee Simons) Alice, 10<br/>           Airey, Thomas, 29, 75<br/>           Aldworth, Robert, 8<br/>           Alleyne, John, 9<br/>           Atkins, Ann, 9<br/>           Audland, John, 29, 75<br/> <b>Authors:</b><br/>               Baxter, Richard, 26, 62<br/>               Brailsford, H. N., 56<br/>               Burrage, C., 11, 15<br/>               Child, R. L., 3<br/>               Dionysius, 6, 7<br/>               Evans, Aris, 5<br/>               Fox, George, 24<br/>               Fuller, J. G., 2<br/>               Hartlib, Samuel, 24<br/>               Haycroft, Nathaniel, 1, 2<br/>               Hunter, J., 35<br/>               Ivimey, J., 46<br/>               James, Issac, 2, 3<br/>               Latimer, John, 9, 17, 18, 77<br/>               Mortimer, R. S., 77<br/>               Neal, Daniel, 35, 44<br/>               Palmer, —, 35<br/>               Shipley, C. E., 3<br/>               Swaish, Sir John, 3<br/>               Tate &amp; Brady, 48<br/>               Underhill, E. B., 1, 10, 36<br/>               Whately, 26<br/>               Wilson, J. F., 11, 12</p> <p>Barnes, Edward, 10<br/>           Barwick, Lady, 35<br/>           Beal, —, Capt., 75<br/>           Beaufort, Duke of, 71<br/>           Black, Dinah, 9</p> <p>Calamy, Edmund, 45, 75<br/>           Camm, John, 29, 75<br/>           Cattell, Izabell, 70<br/>           Chetwynd, Edward, 17<br/>           Clarke, Thomas, 46<br/>           Coleman, Father (Jesuit), 66<br/>           Collins, John, Revd., 39</p> | <p>Cooke, William, 18<br/>           Deane, —, Revd., 41<br/>           Elldridge, Giles, 8<br/>           Ellis, Walter, 7, 8<br/>           Ellis, William, 7<br/>           Ellsworthy, Richard, 76</p> <p>Fairfax, Henry, Lord, 35<br/>           Farmer, Ralph, Revd., 75<br/>           Fell, Margaret, 77<br/>           Fiennes, Nathaniel, Col., 18<br/>           Foscett, Bernard, 12, 16<br/>           Fox, George, 75, 76, 77</p> <p>Gascoyne, Thomas, Sir, 35<br/>           Gerard, —, Col., 36<br/>           Gerrard, Katharine, 36<br/>           Gifford, Samuel, 71<br/>           Goldsmith, Sarah, 76<br/>           Gonning, Jonathan, 7, 76<br/>           Gray, Lord, 71</p> <p>Hall, Jane, 3<br/>           Hall, Robert, Jnr., 3<br/>           Hardcastle, John, 34<br/>           Hardcastle, Mary, 10<br/>           Hardcastle, William, 35<br/>           Haynes, David, 5, 7<br/>           Haynes, Mary, 5, 6<br/>           Hazzard, Henry, 18<br/>           Henry, King (VIII), 13<br/>           Heywood, Oliver, 35<br/>           Hollard, Angell, 1<br/>           Howgill, —, Mr., 75<br/>           Hyde, Lord Calrendon, 57, 58, 63</p> <p>Jackson, Christopher, Revd., 34<br/>           James, Issac, 2, 3<br/>           James, Philip, 2<br/>           James, Samuel, 2<br/>           Jeffreys, Judge, 67</p> <p>Kentish, Joseph, Revd., 75</p> |
|---|--|

Kiffin, William, 39, 41  
Knowles, John, Revd., 72, 75

Lane, Richard, 77  
Latchett, Sarah, 30  
Launders, —, Mr., 43  
Lloyd, John, 74  
Loder, John, Revd., 39

Marshall, Elizabeth, 32, 75  
Millerd, James, 2  
Monmouth, Duke of, 66, 67, 71  
Moreton, —, Revd., 41  
Murford, Thomas, 76

Nayler, James, 75, 76  
Needham, John, 2  
Needham, Mary, 2  
Nesse, —, Mr., 35  
Nethway, Richard, 27  
Noble, Issac, Revd., 74.

Oates, Titus, 66  
Owen, John, Revd. Dr., 39, 40

Prince, —, Mrs., 30  
Pyott, Edward, 75, 76

Rosser, Mary, 72  
Rupert, Prince, 19, 27, 70, 98, 99

Scroop, Adrian, 6, 72  
Shaftesbury, Earl of, 66, 67  
Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury,  
43, 63-65  
Spire, Thomas, Col., 9  
Stubbs, Henry, Revd., 6, 14  
Sykes, William, 11, 12  
Symons, Elizabeth, 34

Thomas, Elizabeth, 70  
Thompson, Thomas, 17  
Terrill, Mary, 9  
Terrill, Rebecca (*née* Spire), 9  
Terrill, Thomas, 5  
Terrill, William, 9

Van Ittern, Godfrey, 8  
Venner, Thomas, 33, 58  
Vickris, Richard, 75

Webb, Nathaniel, 9  
Whittington, Elizabeth, 7  
Williams, Jane, 72  
William and Mary, Of Orange, 66-  
68, 71  
Williamson, Revd., 73

York, Archbishop of, 35  
York, Duke and Duchess of, 66, 67

(b) People listed in Introduction and Text

Following each person's name are the references to them in the Introduction (pp. 1-78) and the Text (pp. 79-270). Brackets [ ] indicate that the person was listed as a member in 1679 (see Appendices) but nowhere else in text.

ADAMS, —, Mr., p. 116.

ADLAM, —, Mr., pp. 160, 162, 254. Probably Benjamin Adlam from whom arms were seized in 1684; or Joseph Adlam, a merchant, who was bondman at wedding of John Purnell, (*APB*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 108; *BRS*, XXVI, p. 72; *MBL*, p. 95.)

ALDWORTH, Richard, p. 103.

ALLEN, Sarah, Mrs., pp. 209, 212, 254, 257, 263. (*AB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 165.)

ALLEN, —, Mrs., p. 239.

ALLIEN, —, Mr., p. 202.

AMES, William, Dr. (1571-1633), p. 92. Ames was a scholar of European fame, whose works foreshadow, if they do not contain, the religious principles which the Congregational polity expresses. The references are to *Medulla Theologica*, Amsterdam, 1652; and *De Conscientia*, Amsterdam, 1654. (*DNB*.)

ARNOLD, —, Sheriff, p. 259. This is Edmund Arundell, sheriff in 1683.

ARNY, Thomas, pp. 189, 190, 228. Admitted a Burgess of the city 25 July 1649. Mentioned in Terrill's will as a baker in 1679. He was living in Philip & Jacob parish in 1696. (*AB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 169; *MBL*.)

ARUNDEL, Edward, Capt., pp. 228, 229, 233, 234, 236, 239.

ATKINS, Ann (d. Nov. 4 1695), p. 9, 189, 190. The wife of John Atkins, a tailor near College Green. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 27.)

ATKINS, Goodman, pp. 89, 90. (*AB*.)

BACON, Robert (fl. 1630-50), pp. 13, 89, 90, 96. He was in London in 1645, having been expelled from Gloucester for denying the validity of infant baptism. He stayed with

Edward Barber, who was pastor of the Baptist Church at the Spital, London. Bacon came back to Bristol after it returned to Parliamentary control on 10 Sept. 1645. He published, *Christ, mighty in himself and members revealed in some short expressions by way of Catechism* (1646). The book is dedicated to the Lady Saye and Sele, whom Bacon served for a time. (*AB*; *Crosby*, III, p. 3; *Edwards*, I, p. 35; II, p. 109; *IJM*, p. 33; *Wing*, I, p. 101, Nos. 368-371; G. F. Nuttall, *Visible Saints*, p. 46.)

BADGER, Joseph, p. 262. A brazier who lived just outside the Pithay Gate, Bristol. On Nov. 14, 1677 he married Rachell Cornish, St. James, Bristol. His father was Joseph Badger, a yeoman from Upton St. Leonards, Glos. His brother was Thomas, a soapmaker, also associated with Broadmead, who married Mary Ashford of Christchurch, Bristol, May 4th 1690. Thomas and Mary living in Christchurch parish, 1696. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 7, 15, 19, 21, 23, 32; *BRS*, XXV, p. 28; *MBL*.)

BAILEY, —, Mr., pp. 252, 265. Thomas Bailey (a Quaker), from whose house arms were seized in 1684. (*BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 110; *BRS*, XXVI, pp. 23, 31, 32, 132, 139, 149, 162, 167, 194.)

BAILY, Susanna, p. 131. Terrill records her death on 8.10.1674, while returning with her husband from London to Bristol. The extract has been placed at the appropriate point in the text by *Underhill*, p. 209 (cf. *Records*, XV, *AB*.)

BALDWIN, Mary, pp. 131, 249. Fined 5/- by the constable for St. Stephen ward, Bristol, for Conventicle worship on 16 Oct. 1670. (*AB*; *OR*, I, p. 52.)

BALL, Andrew, pp. 221, 230. A grocer admitted as a Burgess of Bristol on 2 May 1651, he lived in Church Yard and then the Barton. (*AP*; *BAL*, p. 392; *BGAS*, Vol. 59, p. 236; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, pp. 161-164; *BRS*, XIII, ii, p. 173-4.)

BALL, Nathaniel, p. 252. This is possibly the son of Nathaniel Ball, a licensed Independent preacher for Suffolk in 1672. Nathaniel Ball, Jr., was a soapboiler in Bristol who paid a parish assessment for street cleaning on 29 May 1670, and was a bondman at John Purnell's wedding; living in Broadmead, 1696. (*AP*; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, pp. 161-164; (*BRS*, XXV, p. 74; *MBL*, p. 126; *OR*, p. 321.)

BARNETT, Daniel, pp. 241, 244. Living in Maryport parish, 1696. (*AB*, *BRS*, XXV, p. 105.)

BENNETT, —, Mr., pp. 220, 221.

BETTERTON, Elizabeth, p. 131. (*AB*.)

BETTY, —, Mrs., p. 242. (*AB*.)

BEVIS, —, Mrs., pp. 143, 144. Although she was believed sincere, she was not received into membership because of "her conversation about her husband's jobs and selling drink", though she was "very zealous for baptism". (*Records*, XV, dated 20th Feb. 1671.)

BIRD (BURD), Elizabeth, pp. 122, 132. She is listed as living on the Quay, Bristol, and left £5 towards the stock of the congregation. (*AB*; *Records*, XV.)

BIRD, Mary, p. 131. (*AB*.)

BISHOP, —, Capt., pp. 76, 109. George Bishop, the Quaker. (*BRS*, XXVI, pp. 194-195; *Wing*, I, pp. 156, 3019A and B.)

BISHOP, —, Mr., p. 265. Probably Daniel Bishop, a cheesemonger in Bristol; he was living in St. John Baptist parish and nominated a collector for the year 1696. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 30; *BRS*, XXV, pp. 89, 96.)

[BLAND, Bridget. Living in Castle Ward 1696, (*AB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 17.)]

BLAND, James (d. 6 Aug. 1692), pp. 122, 123, 132, 171, 173, 185, 206, 228, 252. The *BBR* describes him as a school teacher and the reference to coming home from sea in 1671 does not necessarily imply he was a sailor. His wife is probably Bridget Bland who signed call to Fownes in 1679. He signed letters to the Church in London about Hardcastle, and to Robert Browne. He had at least two children whose deaths are recorded

in the *BBR*. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 5, 15, 21; *Underhill*, pp. 203-205, 394.)

BLINKHORN, —, Mr., p. 230. He was Registrar of the Bishops' Court, 1682. See, *Distressed Case of the People called Quakers in the City of Bristol*, p. 10. (London 1682.)

BLINMAN, Richard (1607-1681), pp. 50, 117. Born at Chepstow, he matriculated at New Inn Hall, Oxford, 1635; BA in 1636. Ordained priest at Wells, 1636. As an Independent went to New England in 1640 with a group of Welsh emigrants. Settled there and was a freeman of Plymouth Colony 1641; removed to New London, 1650; in 1658 was in New Haven. After visiting Newfoundland he returned to England in 1659. He was indicted at Monmouth Assizes on 5 Aug. 1661, as of Chepstow, for unlawful assembly of the church in Llanmartin, and bound over for £40. In 1662 he was involved at Broadmead. Following a debate in 1675 with Henry Danvers on infant baptism, he was involved in a baptismal debate with Andrew Gifford in 1676. (*CR*; Darling, *Cyclopaedia Bibliographica*, 1854, p. 343; *DNB*; Nuttall, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 9-10; *Wing* I, Nos. 3192, 3192A.)

BODENHAM, Avis, Miss, p. 225. (*AB*.)

BODENHAM, Robert, (d. 1726), pp. 9, 11, 12, 34, 51, 126, 131, 165, 173, 175, 185, 187, 193, 204, 206, 215, 216, 223, 224, 228, 234, 237, 243, 246, 252, 255, 257, 259, 263, 266, 267, 270. He was apprenticed to John Sled as a saylemaker, and admitted a burgess of the city on 8 Dec. 1645. As a saylemaker he was involved with Terrill and Ellis in the West Indies trade. In the *BBL* there are two trade contracts for 1675 and 1686 showing his involvement with Terrill, John Ford, and Richard Ackworth. His first wife died on 9 Jan. 1675. He then married Elizabeth Ewins, the widow of John Ewins, on Sep. 22, 1682, and they lived somewhere in the Marsh area of the city. He had several children who died in infancy, two Marys, John, Robert, and Mehitabbel Bodenham. At least one child, Avis, survived to adult life and was baptised into membership at Broadmead. Bodenham was a supporter of the Duke of Monmouth and a small cache of arms were seized from his home in 1684. He gave £100 to the establishing of a ministerial training fund, and through his will (1705) various Bristol properties were



sold to provide the capital which made possible the beginnings of the Bristol Baptist College. (*AB*; *BBL*, p. 48; *BBR*, pp. 5, 7, 24, 27, 28; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 106; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1672-81, p. 116; *BRS*, XXV, p. 192; *IJM*, p. 110; *MBL*, p. 50.)

BODENHAM, —, Mrs., p. 178. The first Mrs. Bodenham who died 9 Dec. 1675. (*AB*.)

BODENHAM, Elizabeth, Mrs., pp. 246, 266. Formerly Mrs. John Ewins, she died in June 1686. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 9.)

BOOTH, Christopher, p. 200.

BOULTON, —, Mr., p. 230.

BOWEN, Lewis, Mr., p. 203. Arrested in 1663 for nonconformity, and imprisoned for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. (*AB*; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1653-71, pp. 51, 53.)

BOWEN, Lewis, Mrs., p. 203. (*AB*.)

BOWLES, Mary, (d. 24 Jan. 1688) p. 137. The wife of William Bowles of Waterford in Ireland. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 14, 16.)

BOWLEY, Alice, Mrs., p. 225. (*AB*.)

BOWMAN, —, Mr., p. 257. Probably John Bowman, a cooper of Temple Street, Bristol, from whom arms were seized in 1684. *IJM* notes a John Bowman ordained a deacon at Pithay Particular Baptist Church, 29 June 1705, but the relationship cannot be established. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 7, 19; *BRS*, XXV, pp. 181, 228; *BGAS* Vol. 2, p. 108; *IJM*, p. 131.)

[BOWYER, Katharine. (*AB*.)]

BRADWAY, John, Sheriff, p. 118. He was sheriff in 1664 and 1691.

BRAG, —, Mr., p. 126. (*AB*.)

BRANCH, Hester, pp. 267, 268. (*AB*.)

BRAND, —, Mr., p. 239.

BREWER, —, Mrs., pp. 239, 240. (*AB*.)

BRIGHT, Edward, p. 254. An apothecary who lived in the High Street, Bristol. Several of his young children were buried in the Red-cross Lane Cemetery. Arms were seized from

his home in 1684. He was living in High Street, Nicholas parish, 1696, with his wife Mary and sons, Edward and Daniel (*APB*; *BBR*, pp. 5, 6, 8, 10, 16; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 109; *BRS* XXV, p. 142.)

BROOKES, Elinor, (d. 21 Apr. 1699) p. 131, 154, 204. Wife of Eusebius Brookes. She died Apr. 21, 1699. (*BBR*, p. 33; *AB*.)

BROWN (E), Elizabeth, Mrs., (d. 27 Feb. 1677) 122, 131, 190, 197. She died leaving 6 sons and 4 daughters. She lived in the Castle area of the city. (*AB*; *Records*, XV.)

BROWNE, Hugh, p. 103, Mayor of Bristol 1651.

BROWNE, Robert, Revd. pp. 44, 205, 206, 209. Educated at Pembroke College, Oxford. Rector of Spetchley in 1654; vicar of White-ladies, Ashton, and ejected from there in 1660. Broadmead approached him in 1671 and in 1678 to become their pastor, but he refused on both occasions. He removed to Plymouth in 1687 and died there in 1688. (See *Underhill*, pp. 126, 130-3, 140-1, 145-7, 150-1 for the correspondence between Browne and Broadmead. *CR*; *Crosby*, 111, pp. 9-10; *Ivimey*, I, pp. 138-9, II, pp. 116-8, III, pp. 9-10, 293; *TBHS*, I, p. 29; *Wing*, I, p. 201, 5047, 5048, 5050.)

BROWN, Timothy, p. 234. His imprisonment is noted in *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1681-1705, p. 11. (*AB*.)

BROWN, —, Mr., p. 242.

BRYAN, Joshua, (d. 11 Aug. 1690) pp. 144, 173, 185, 215, 228, 237, 252. A "cordwayner without Lawford's Gate". A cordwayner was originally a worker in cordova leather, then it came to mean just a shoemaker. Martha Brown was probably his mother. Joshua's wife Elizabeth died 29 Nov. 1694. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 16, 17, 25.)

BRYAN, Martha, (d. 1673) p. 132. *Underhill*, p. 196 has inserted into his text details from *Records*, XV. (*AB*; *Records*, XV)

BUCK, Benjamin, pp. 157, 174.

BUCKLAND, —, Sister, pp. 254, 256. (*AB*.)

BUCKMASTER, John, p. 201. A deacon of Southwark Baptist Church, London.

BUGNALL, —, Mr., p. 167.

BURCOME, John, p. 234. His imprisonment is recorded in *Bristol Sessions Book 1681-1705*, p. 13; he was living in Redcliff Pitt, St. Mary Redcliffe parish in 1696. (AB; BRS, XXV, p. 110.)

BURGES, —, Mrs., p. 247. (AB.)

BURGESS, William, (d. 1688) p. 260. He was a woollen draper in the High Street, Bristol. He had two daughters, Ann and Mary, who died in 1689 and 1694 respectively. When he died, he was interred, for some strange reason "at 11 o'clock at night". (AB; BBR, pp. 8, 13, 15.)

BURGESS, William, p. 261. A grocer in High Street, Bristol.

BURGESS, —, Mr., p. 245. This is not Daniel Burgess (1616-79), but it may well be his brother, Isaac, who lived in Wiltshire. (CR.)

BUSH, —, Mrs., pp. 149, 155, 157. A widow in 1681, she lived in the Shambles. She had a son, perhaps the George Bush from whom arms were seized in 1684. (BGAS, Vol. 2, p. 109.)

BUSSELL, Ozyll, p. 260. He was a baker in Augustine's parish, Bristol. His second wife was Mary Baker of Winterbourne, whom he married on 17 Oct. 1678. (MBL.)

BUTLER, Elizabeth, Mrs., p. 251. (AB.)

BUTTALL, Jonathan, p. 164, 165. See, *Bristol Sessions Book, 1672-81*, p. 109 for the details of his discharge. (AB.)

BUTTALL, Samuel, pp. 154, 160, 240. He attended Henry Jessey's church in London, and was signatory to church letters from London to Bristol in 1669 and 1670. (See *Underhill*, pp. 102-4, 117-20). A letter from Buttall to Bodenham indicates his involvement in the Whitson Court sugar business, and his travelling between Bristol, London and Plymouth. In 1689 he was present at the Particular Baptist Assembly with Roger Hadden from Plymouth. He was called to the pastorate of the Plymouth Baptist church in 1690, and was again at the Particular Baptist Assembly in 1692. When the Assembly met in 1693 however he signed as from Bristol. The letter to Bodenham in

1686 came from Topsham, and in 1707 Buttall was pastor there. (AB; BBL, p. 50; IJM, p. 131; Ivimey, II, p. 120.)

CABLE, —, Mr., p. 157.

CALE, Nathaniel, Alderman, pp. 117, 127. The text on p. 52 reads a "Major". It is much more likely to be "Mayor". Cale was elected Mayor in 1661 and was an ardent Royalist. He had been placed upon the Bristol Council by Prince Rupert in 1643, and elected Sheriff in 1644. However, the Parliamentary ordinance of 1645 removed Cale and several others from office. In 1661 a mandate of Charles II reversed the situation and an entirely new pro-Royalist Council was elected. Cale was responsible for the second persecution at Broadmead, when Ewins was imprisoned for a month. (BGAS, Vol. 58, pp. 270-1; BRS, VI, i, pp. 18, 264, 265; XVII, p. 194; *Latimer*, p. 309.)

CANNE, John, pp. 11-16, 90, 91-93. (*Wing* I, p. 242, Nos. 437-443B.)

CANNE, Robert, Sir (d. 1685), pp. 170-175, 182, 183, 235, 238, 239, 263. The son of William Canne, Robert was a councillor from 1649; sheriff in 1651-2; Mayor 1662-3 and 1675-6; and Alderman for Nicholas ward from 1663 onwards. He was knighted and given a baronetcy in 1662. A member of the MVS he was treasurer in 1653-4 and Master in 1658-9. His wife was Cicely, daughter of Humphrey Hooke. Canne succeeded Hooke as MP for Bristol from 1678-80. His second wife was Ann, daughter of Sir Derrick Poppeley. *Latimer* writes of Canne "he was a somewhat pompous personage fond of parading his riches, and prone to speak his mind with little regard for others." (BGAS, Vol. 32, pp. 327-8; BRS, XIII, ii, p. 202; *Latimer*, pp. 222-3, 312, 384.)

CANNE, William, Sir, p. 172. A son of Sir Robert Canne.

CARLETON, Guy, Bishop, DD. pp. 65, 72, 73, 144, 145, 150, 156, 159, 169. In the Commonwealth period Carleton was imprisoned for a time in Lambeth Palace, London. Already in middle age at the beginning of the Civil War, he joined the King's army and was captured during an engagement. He was chaplain to the King in exile. He was translated from the deanery of Carlisle to

the see of Bristol in 1672 partly because of military service to the King, and partly because of his ability to maintain the office independent of the income of the see, a mere £300 yearly, but primarily because he was the iron-fisted bishop necessary to deal with the Bristol fanatics. Although 76 years of age he was very active, and in 1678 was translated to Chichester. (*BGAS*, Vol. 21, p. 251; *Latimer*, pp. 360-1.)

CARY, maid of, p. 184. If there were five persons then we do not know the name of Cary's maid. May be the phrase is descriptive of Elizabeth Smith, jnr., but if so, there were four persons not five for membership. (*AB*.)

CATTLE, Timothy, pp. 15, 28, 105. His wife, Isabel, was received into membership at the Pithay Particular Baptist Church on 18 June 1653, along with Thomas Munday. In 1663 Cattle and others put in prison for refusing to take the oath of allegiance when it was tendered in court. His daughter, Ann Blake, died 29 Dec. 1695. (*AB*; *APB*; *BBR*, p. 27; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1653-71, p. 51; *IJM*, p. 130.)

CAUSE, Jasper, pp. 227, 232, 235, 252.

CHAIN, —, Mr., p. 250.

CHAPMAN, —, Mr., p. 225.

CHAPPELL, —, Mr., p. 174.

CHARLES I, p. 59, 65, 82, 97, 144.

CHARLES II, pp. 8, 57-69, 72, 115, 127, 145.

CHATTEN, Thomas, pp. 171, 222, 230. A Thomas Chatten, surgeon, who married Mary Chapman on 9 Sept. 1691, was living in Christchurch parish, 1696. (*BRS*, XXV, p. 27; *MBL*.)

CHAUNCEY, Ichabod, Dr. (1635-91), pp. 73, 162, 261, 264, 265. An Independent he emigrated to New England and graduated MA, at Harvard in 1654. When he returned to England in 1656 he eventually settled at Coggeshall, Essex. He removed to Bristol in 1666 and was admitted a member of Castle Green, 29 March 1670. He became an "extra licentiate of the College of Physicians" on 13 Oct. 1666. Chauncy, along with other Bristol physicians, signed a petition about the prison conditions in

Bristol, seeking for their improvement, *Distressed Case of People Called Quakers*, 1682, p. 31. He was arrested for his nonconformist activities in 1682 and 1684 and after time in prison was ordered to leave the realm. *Innocence Vindicated*, London 1684, was Chauncey's attempt to state his case publicly and secure some kind of redress against what he calls "the implacable Prejudice formed in the mind of Mr. Romsey, our Town Clerk of Bristol", who believed Chauncey was involved with Monmouth. He went to Holland and was admitted a student of medicine at Leiden University, 1684. Bristol Corporation granted him a "lease for four lives of a piece of void ground in Castle Green at a rent of £2.6.8" in Sept. 1678, and it was here the Castle Green chapel was built soon after. (*Latimer*, p. 388). On August 10th 1669 he married Mary King. He returned to Bristol in 1686. His widow married Daniel Gwilliam, and she died in 1736 aged 90. (*AC*; Caston, *Independency in Bristol*, pp. 52-54; *CR*; *DNB*; *Wing I*, p. 321, No. 3743.)

CHAUNCEY, Mary, Mrs., p. 247. Wife of the above. (*AC*.)

CHILD, James, p. 234. He was silk-weaver. His brother was Thomas Child, a shoemaker at Lawford's Gate, Bristol. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 4.)

CHILD, Thomas (d. 27 Aug. 1699), pp. 136, 173, 185, 215, 228, 237, 260, 265. A shoemaker whose first wife, Elizabeth, died in 1684. On 2 Oct. 1684, he married Katharine Hoskins, widow, with Henry Davis as bondsman. He was brother of James, above. He lived in Barton Hundred according to Terrill's will 1679. He was imprisoned on a number of occasions. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 4, 5, 7, 34; *MBL*.)

CHOCK, John, pp. 160, 162, 187, 252, 257. Admitted as a "Bodiesmaker" in Bristol on 24 Sept. 1651. He was removed from membership of the Presbyterian congregation in 1676, despite the fact that in 1675 he had been fined for attendance at nonconformist worship. In 1683, when he appears to have been worshipping with them again, he was under pressure from the authorities and he conformed, producing a certificate to this effect on 12 Jan. 1684. Living in Christchurch parish, 1696. (*AP*; *BAL*, p. 396; *Bristol Sessions Book 1672-81*, p. 108; *BRS*, XXV, p. 22.)

CHRISTMAS, Richard, pp. 158, 167. The Presbyterian representative along with Jeremy Holwey to administer the funds raised by the four congregations for legal aid in their battle with the authorities. (Underhill, p. 251). Christmas was charged under 35th Elizabeth for not attending the parish church and later discharged (*Bristol Sessions Book, 1672-81*, p. 108). In 1660 he was a witness of land transfer between Matthew Walker of Stapleton, and Andrew Hooke, Brewer, of Bristol. (AP.)

CLARK, Edith, p. 270. (AB.)

CLARK, Rachel, p. 138. In *Records*, XV she is described as a maid of Nathaniel Snead. (AB.)

CLARK, —, Sister, pp. 137, 237, 240, 254, 257, 265. (AB.)

CLARK, —, Mrs., pp. 262. (AB.)

CLARK, —, Mr., p. 263.

CLARKE, Joseph, (d. 8 Nov. 1694), pp. 203, 205, 254, 259. His wife Judith died on 21 Dec. 1689. He was a scrivener and had always lived in Temple Street, Bristol. (AB; BBR, pp. 16, 25; BRS, XIII, vol. ii, p. 166. XVII, p. 172.)

CLARKE, Samuel, pp. 34, 175, 176, 205, 209, 212, 228, 237, 241, 256, 266. A Major during the Commonwealth period, in 1652 he entered into commercial life paying a fine of £20 for the privilege of being admitted a burgess of the city. He was admitted to the MVS in 1668 and his son in 1672. He is involved in trade with Spain and the West Indies, along with his brother, Joseph above. (AB; BRS, XIII, ii, pp. 120, 121, 166, 180, XVII, p. 31, 60; Latimer, p. 236.)

CLARKE, Samuel, Mrs., pp. 212, 225. Wife of the above. (AB.)

CLARKE, Samuel, Mrs., p. 205. Mother of Samuel Clarke. (AB.)

CLUTTERBUCK, William, Sir, p. 258. A member of the MVS, he was Mayor in 1683. (BGAS Vol. 20, p. 106; BRS, XVII, p. 32, XXV, p. 43.)

CODNER, Martha, Mrs., pp. 202, 259. Probably the wife of John Codner, sometime

master of the ship, Speedwell, whose son Joshua was buried in the Redcross Lane Cemetery, 28 Feb. 1692-3. (AB; BBR, p. 21.)

COLE, Goodman, pp. 84, 89, 90. (AB.)

COLLIER, Thomas, (fl. 1634-91). p. 185. This is almost certainly whom the TC refers to here. Collier was appointed "General Superintendent and Messenger" to the Particular Baptist Western Association in 1655. In 1672 he was licensed to preach at North Bradley, near Trowbridge, Somerset. His book, *Body of Divinity*, published in 1672 caused a great disturbance and led to the visit mentioned here. The London ministers revised in a Baptist direction, the Westminster Catechism, and published it in 1677, as an antidote to the book. Collier replied by issuing a West Country Baptist Confession in 1678 which was endorsed by the Western Association in 1691. (Whitley, *History of British Baptists*, p. 72; DNB; OR II, p. 1070; Wing, I, pp. 357-8, Nos. 5267A-5302.)

COLSTON, Robert, pp. 155, 165, 167. He was a soap-boiler, born in 1643, and was the brother of the famous Edward Colston, (H. J. Wilkins, *Edward Colston*, 1920; Latimer, p. 372.)

COMBE, Martha, Mrs., pp. 184, 245. Her maiden name was DORNY. (AB.)

COPPINGER, —, Mr., pp. 108, 109. (BRS, XXVI, p. 220.)

CORNISH, Alice, Mrs., (d. 29 Apr. 1684), pp. 132, 191, 261. Wife of Robert Cornish (AB; BBR, p. 7.)

CORNISH, John, pp. 177, 207, 208, 228, 234, 259. Son of Robert Cornish, he was a tailor who lived in the new buildings in St. James', Bristol. (AB.)

CORNISH, Robert, (d. 18 Dec. 1696), 128, 130, 131, 193, 205, 241, 243, 258, 261, 264. He was a sailor. His first wife, Alice, d. 29 Apr. 1684; and his second wife, Margaret, d. 2 July 1696. Robert and Margaret listed as living in James' parish, 1696. (AB; BBR, pp. 7, 28, 29; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, pp. 161-4; BRS, XXV, p. 55.)

COSSIL, —, Mr., p. 244.

COTT, Goodwife, p. 184. Apparently Mrs.

Cott did not join the Church. A Henry Cott, mariner, received £6 damages for loss of eyesight during the third Dutch war 1673, and on 24 Sept. 1680 a William Hancock married a Sarah Cott, aged 48, a widow from Mangotsfield, but a connection cannot be clearly established. (*AB*; *BRS*, XVII, p. 107; *MBL*.)

COURTNY, Jeremiah, (d. 30 Oct. 1692), 122, 123, 131, 139, 149, 173, 192, 194, 196, 201, 202, 203, 205, 216, 217, 220, 252, 257. He was a baker. His widow, Mary, married Benjamin Noble. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 20, 28.)

COURTNY, Mary, (d. 24 Feb. 1696), p. 202. Wife of the above. (*AB*.)

COWLISHAY, George, pp. 75, 108. It was George Cowlishay who swore a deposition before the Bristol magistrates that "certain Franciscan friars from Rome had lately come into England under the guise of Quakers and drawn together large numbers of people in London, seeking to pervert their religion." (*Latimer*, pp. 258, 259.)

COX, Nehemiah, D.D., pp. 41, 70, 185, 191. He was probably the son of Benjamin Cox of Bedford. Nehemiah was admitted to membership of the Bedford Church on 3 May 1669. In Apr. 1673 he was called to be pastor at Cotton End, Hitchin. He eventually joined John Collins as pastor of Lime Street, London. (*Ivimey*, II, pp. 403-6; *Underhill*, p. 148.)

CRABB, William, Alderman, pp. 162, 190. A merchant who was Sheriff in 1665 and Mayor of Bristol in 1676. (*BRS*, XXV, p. 189.)

CRADOCK, Walter, (1606-1659?), pp. 13-15, 19, 26, 27, 48, 50, 84, 97, 102, 113. Born at Usk, and after training in Oxford was ordained curate at Peterston-upon-Ely, Glams, then served with William Erbury at St. Mary's Cardiff. He was ejected from there in 1633, and went to Wrexham where both Morgan Lloyd and Vavasor Powell were converted under his ministry. Expelled from Wrexham by the local Malsters he went to Shrewsbury, spending time with Richard Baxter and Richard Symonds. Based at Brampton Bryan, the house of Sir Robert Harley, he itinerated through Radnor, Brecknock, Montgomery and Cardigan. He eventually became assistant and then successor to Wroth at Llanvaches. In 1641 he

appeared before Parliament to argue the motion that "it shall be lawful for the parishioners of any parish in the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales to set up a lecture and to maintain an orthodox minister, at their own charge, to preach every Lord's day, where there is no preaching, and to preach one day in every week, where there is no weekly lecture." (*Journal of the House of Commons*, Vol. II, p. 189). Appointed as an itinerant preacher in Wales in 1646 and as a commissioner under the Propagation Act of 1650. He returned to Wales to carry out his duties in 1646. During the troubles of 1651 he was in charge of troops recruited by Harrison from the congregations in Wales.

Cradock wrote, "When I have communion with a saint, I must not looke so much whether he be of such an opinion, or whether he have taken the covenant, or have been baptised once or twice or ten times, but see if he have fellowship with the Father and with Jesus Christ. I spake not this as if my opinion were for re-baptization or against the baptising of infants of believers, the contrary appears to be my practice: but only, that such difference of opinion should not hinder their mutual receiving each other to fellowship and communion, who are in fellowship with God and Jesus Christ". (G. F. Nuttall *The Puritan Spirit*, p. 120). In the dedication of *The Saints Fulnesse of Joy* (1646) Cradock states his ideal "to make union and communion with God" the important issue, "to love, honour, and receive Saints qua Saints."

(The works of Cradock were published in 1800. See also: *Richards*, Vol. I, pp. 27-8, 85, 100-3, 163; G. F. Nuttall, *The Puritan Spirit*, pp. 118-129; T. Rees, *Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, pp. 46-53; A. N. Palmer, *History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*, 1886, pp. 71-75; B. Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, Vol. 3, pp. 382-6.)

CRANFIELD, —, Mr., p. 225.

CRESWICK, Henry, Sir, (d. 28 Sep. 1668), pp. 33, 59, 115, 116, 125, 127. The eldest son of Francis Creswick, he was apprenticed to Richard Long, merchant, 2 Feb. 1631. Admitted a Burgess of the city 14 August 1639. Married Elizabeth, daughter of Humphrey Hooke, and they had two sons, Frances and Humphrey, and four daughters. The family lived in Small Street, Bristol. Creswick was elected Councillor in 1643-5,

and from 1660-68. As sheriff in 1643 he entertained Charles I during his stay in Bristol. He was Mayor in 1660-1; Alderman for Maryport 1661-63 and for St. Ewin 1663-68. A member of the *MVS* he was treasurer in 1647-8 and Master from 1660-62. Though he wrote secretly to Charles II in 1660 seeking permission to purge the City Council of all those who had supported Cromwell, he left "that factious Anabaptist", his son-in-law, Alderman Joseph Jackson, in office. (*BRS*, XIII, ii, p. 204; *Latimer*, p. 115.)

CRESWICK, Joseph, p. 221. Mayor of Bristol in 1679.

CRISP, Samuel, pp. 236, 237. (*Wing* I, p. 395, Nos. 6916-6920.)

CROMWELL, Oliver, pp. 47, 99, 106, 114.

CROMWELL, Richard, p. 114.

CROTCH, —, Mr., p. 253. (*AB*.)

CROW, Austin, p. 254.

CRUMP, Richard, Sir, (d. 1700), pp. 178, 179, 182, 225, 228, 229, 235, 237. A soapboiler in Bristol, he was Sheriff in 1665-6; Mayor in 1677-78. He was knighted in 1681 and became MP for Bristol 1685-7. (*BRS*, XIX, p. 219, XXV, pp. 14, 97.)

DANIEL, Jane, Miss, pp. 207, 208, 216. (*AB*.)

DAVIS, Ambrose, p. 255.

DAVIS, Henry, pp. 12, 138, 139, 173, 190, 204, 228, 232, 234, 237, 252, 259. He was a haberdasher admitted as a burgess of the city 27 May 1650, having been apprenticed first to Nicholas Marston and then Henry Gibb, both freemen of Bristol. A Mrs. Ann Davis is listed as living in High Street in 1696. (*AB*; *BAL*, p. 383; *BRS*, XXV, p. 142; *MBL*, p. 123.)

DAVIS, —, Mrs., p. 123. (*AB*.)

DAVIS, —, Mrs., (Jnr.) p. 269. Possibly Mary Davis, d. Jan 10 1691/2. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 21.)

DAVIS, —, Revd., p. 216.

DAVIS, Susanna, Mrs., p. 132, 190. (*AB*.)

DAWSON, Mary, pp. 138, 205. (*AB*.)

DAY, —, Mr., p. 252. Possibly John Day from whom arms were seized in 1684. (*AB*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 108.)

DAYOS, Elizabeth, pp. 131, 225, 256. Probably related to Walter Dayos, who d. 1658. Walter Dayos was Councillor from 1637-58; Alderman for Trinity (1655-58) Sheriff (1639-40) and Mayor in 1655-6. He was Warden of the *MVS* in 1642-3, and treasurer in 1644-5. (*AB*.)

DEANE, —, Capt., p. 118. Probably Capt. Richard Deane of Col. Robert Lilburn's regiment of foot. Clearly involved with the Fifth Monarchy Movement among Baptists, Deane eventually attained the rank of Colonel. In 1670 he is listed as living in Lewinsmead, Bristol, when he was charged 8/- towards the cost of street cleaning. Living in Foster's Almshouses, Michael's parish, in 1696. (*AB*; L. E. Brown, *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 10, 11, 133, 192; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1653-71, pp. 161-4; *BRS*, XXV, p. 131; *TBHS*, p. 254.)

DEANE, —, Mr., p. 185. (Darling, *Cyclopaedia*, column 883.)

DENNIS, Isaac, Mr., pp. 228, 230, 235, 256. A relative of John Purnell and keeper of Newgate prison.

DENNIS, Richard, pp. 122, 123, 131, 173, 185, 205, 228, 230, 265. A bodicemaker who lived in Wine Street. Arms were taken from his home in 1684. His wife is Susan. His daughter Susanna married Timothy Sandy. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 8, 34; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 110.)

DENNIS, Susan, pp. 213, 250. Wife of the above. (*BRS*, XXV, p. 50.)

DICKASON, Joan, Mrs., (d. 1682), pp. 132, 213, 253. Wife of William. (*AB*.)

DICKASON, William, (d. 7 Jun. 1697), pp. 34, 121, 131, 155, 156, 162, 173, 174, 181, 185, 186, 205, 206, 228, 231, 232, 237, 241, 243, 248, 251, 252, 255, 259, 261-266. A tobacco seller and a preacher in Wales, he was often in prison for unlawful assembly. His wife died while he was in Gloucester prison. He was a known Monmouth supporter. (*AB*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 109; *BBR*, p. 30; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1653-71, p. 51; 1672-81, pp. 154-155.)

DIKE, —, Mr., p. 264.

DOLEMAN, —, Mr., pp. 160, 162, 242, 250  
A presbyterian from whom arms were seized  
in 1684 was named Alexander Dolman. (*AP*;  
*BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 111; *BRS*, XXV, p. 21.)

DORNY, —, Mr., p. 184. *See also* COMBE,  
Martha. (*Wing*, I, 463, Nos. 1931-1933.)

DUNNING, William, p. 250. He was Sheriff  
of Bristol in 1677.

DYER, —, Mr., pp. 227, 231.

DYKE, Daniel, (1613-1678), pp. 41, 70, 191.  
Educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.  
Prominent in the Commonwealth period, and  
eventually co-pastor with William Kiffin at  
Devonshire Square, London, from 1668.  
(*CR*; *Crosby*, I, p. 357; *Wing*, I, p. 485,  
No. 2959.)

EARLE, —, Mr., p. 256.

EARLE, Thomas, Sir, pp. 77, 233, 235, 238,  
265. A merchant who was Mayor in Bristol,  
1681. (*BRS*, XXV, pp. 14, 224.)

EDWARD VI, King, p. 81.

EDWARDS, Robert, pp. 153, 154, 157, 158,  
171.

EDWARDS, Sarah, pp. 189-190. She was fined  
and her goods taken for being at an unlawful  
assembly, 28 Feb. 1675. (*Bristol Sessions  
Book*, 1672-81, p. 116). A wedding between  
Sarah Edwards and Benjamin Paget took  
place on 10 May 1680. (*AB*; *MBL*.)

EDWARDS, —, Mr., pp. 233, 235, 237.

EKLEY, Ann, (d. 2 Apr. 1686), pp. 132, 153,  
154. Possibly the wife of Edward Ekley,  
(*AB*; *BBR*, p. 9.)

EKLEY, Edward, (d. 1686), pp. 131, 204, 228.  
His wife Ann was described as a widow in  
1686. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 9.)

ELIZABETH I, pp. 61, 63, 81, 167, 227.

ELLIS, Ann, Mrs., pp. 131, 155. The wife of  
Thomas Ellis, Senior, who d. in 1687. *See*  
Ellis family tree in *BGAS*, Vol. 65, p. 16.  
(*AB*.)

ELLIS, Ann, Mrs., (Jnr.), pp. 72, 183. (*AB*.)

ELLIS, Edmund, p. 27. This family is to be  
distinguished from that of Thomas Ellis,  
Snr. and Jnr., who predominate in the  
*Records*. Edmund Ellis is mentioned in  
connection with the Propagation Act for  
Wales, as coming from London, and capable  
of recommending men for the ministry in  
Wales. The Burgess Lists record that Edmund  
Ellis, leather dresser, was admitted 8 Mar.  
1649 "in that he married Alice ye daughter  
of Richard Plea, a free man of the same"  
(*BAL*, p. 381.) If this is the Edmund Ellis  
referred to in the *Records*, then Alice had  
died by 1670, and Edmund married Martha  
Griffen. (*Records*, p. 72). (*AB*; *MBL*, p. 5;  
*Richards*, pp. 85, 102.)

ELLIS, Thomas, (Snr.), pp. 7-9, 13, 33, 34, 51,  
117-119, 123, 125, 129, 131, 160, 162, 171,  
172, 174-177, 179, 213, 223, 228, 231, 232,  
237, 241, 249, 250, 255, 259, 266. He is  
abruptly introduced as the Ruling Elder  
without any explanation. He stood as bonds-  
man for his daughter Deborah's wedding to  
Richard Lloyd in 1664-5. (*AB*; *Bristol Ses-  
sions Book*, 1653-71, pp. 161-164; *BRS*, VI,  
i, pp. 54-5, XIII, ii, p. 180; *Latimer*, pp.  
350-1; *MBL*, pp. 37, 59, 159; *Wing*, I, p. 501,  
No. 605.)

ELLIS, Thomas, (Jnr.), (d. 25 Dec. 1683), pp.  
9, 257. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 6.)

ELSWORTHY, —, Mr., p. 126. (cf. *BRS*, VI,  
i, pp. 191-2.)

ENGLAND, Elizabeth, pp. 218, 219, 255 (*AB*.)

EVANS, Joan, pp. 131, 139. (*AB*.)

EVANS, John, pp. 121, 185. (*AB*.)

EVANS, Katharine, (d. 22 Feb. 1693), p. 131.  
Wife of William Evans, glover on Redcliff  
Hill. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 21.)

EVANS, Mary, p. 142. Sister-in-law of  
Williams Evans the glover. Her mother, also  
Mary Evans, d. 24 May 1691. (*AB*; *BBR*,  
p. 20.)

EVANS, Nathaniel, p. 131. (*AB*.)

EVANS, Sarah, p. 131. When she signed call  
to Fownes in 1679 she was described as  
"of Castle", Bristol. (*AB*.)

EVANS, William, pp. 122, 123, 131, 185, 206, 228. A glover on Redcliff Hill, he was married to Katharine Evans and brother-in-law to Mary Evans. Evans is mentioned in Terrill's 1679 will and was still alive in 1720. (AB; BBR, pp. 20, 21.)

EWINS, Elizabeth, Mrs., pp. 34, 209, 212, 246. This is the wife of John Ewins. (AB.)

EWINS, Joan, Mrs., (d. 5 Oct. 1676), pp. 34, 131, 185. The wife of Thomas Ewins, the pastor at Broadmead. (AB.)

EWINS, John, pp. 34, 209, 246. (AB.)

EWINS, Thomas, pp. 6-14, 15, 24, 26, 27-34, 38, 42, 45, 47-50, 53, 59, 61, 62, 76. (AB.)

EYRE, Thomas, pp. 153, 176, 180.

FIELD, Mary, Mrs., (d. 23 Nov. 1696), pp. 138, 139. Living in the Fryers, James' parish in April 1696. (AB; BRS, XXV, p. 68.)

FIELDHURST, Henry, pp. 137, 193, 194, 197. (AB.)

FIELDING, Edward, pp. 149, 162, 164. He was Sheriff in Bristol, 1674.

FITTEN, James, (d. 1676), pp. 41, 185, 200. See also *Underhill* pp. 111, 198, 203. Hardcastle, in the dedicatory epistle to *Christian Geography*, describes Fitten as Jessey's successor, and "my old friend and fellow sufferer".

FLOYD, John, Capt., p. 117.

FORBES, James, (1630-1712), pp. 42, 218. Educated at King's College, Aberdeen and Oxford. He was a preacher in Gloucester in the Commonwealth period, and was licensed as an Independent for that city in 1672. He was imprisoned at Gloucester in 1680. He was for many years the pastor of the Barton Street Independent Church, Gloucester. (BGAS, Vol. 50, pp. 368-9; CR; *Trans. Congregational Historical Society*, Apr. 1928, pp. 100-104; *Wing*, II, p. 62, 1442-1444.)

FORD, Henry, pp. 128, 130, 131, 160, 173, 185. In 1670 a Henry Ford paid a shilling for street cleaning by his house in Horsefair, Bristol. Last mentioned in 1676 and not to be confused with the Mr. Ford who was

drowned, pp. 249-50. (AB; BGAS, Vol. 59, pp. 263, 278, 279; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1653-71, pp. 161-4.)

FORD, John, pp. 46, 51, 137, 142, 173, 175, 176, 191, 204, 206, 223, 262. After an apprenticeship to Josiah Bowden he was admitted as a butcher in the city, 13 Jan. 1644. The BBL shows him in trade with Bodenham and Terrill in 1675. He apparently had an interest in the "farm of Burnett", a Manor in Keynsham Hundred, Somerset. He was a deacon in 1673 at Broadmead, but he resigned in 1680 when he removed to Bitton. In 1684 he was attending Bitton parish church, for which he was admonished by Broadmead. (AB; BAL, p. 326; BGAS, Vol. 59, p. 262; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1681-1705, p. 11; BRS, XIII, ii, p. 180; *Wing*, II, Nos. 1465-1466.)

FORD, —, Mrs., (d. 1677), pp. 137, 191. The wife of the above. (AB.)

[FORD, Hester. Living in Temple parish, 1696. (AB; BRS, XXV, p. 254.)]

FORD, —, Mr., pp. 68, 249-251, 253, 260, 263. Drowned 15 Apr. 1683, see the report by Hellier, CSPD, 1683. (AP.)

FOSTER, —, Mr., pp. 78, 243, 245. Possibly Richard Foster, a hosier of Bedminster. More likely John Foster, who left Quakers. (BRS, XXVI, pp. 20, 195; BBR, p. 6; AB.)

FOWLER, —, Mr., pp. 92, 93. Sarah, daughter of Daniel Fowler, a cooper in Baldwin Street, d. 3 June 1697. (BBR, p. 30; AB.)

FOWLES, —, Mr., p. 258. (APB.)

FOWLES, —, Mrs., p. 261. (APB.)

FOWNES, George, pp. 43-46, 47, 50, 54, 68, 70, 205, 209-213, 218-222, 225, 227-230, 234, 236, 238-248, 251, 252, 265. (AB.)

FOWNES, Katharine, p. 257. The daughter of George Fownes, Snr. (AB.)

FOX, —, Mr., pp. 249, 250. The death of a Mr. Fox's daughter and wife are recorded for 7 Aug. and 10 Aug. respectively, 1687. (AB; BBR, p. 10.)

FRANCIS, —, pp. 9, 101. (AB.)



FRANKLYN, Richard, (d. 25 June 1689), p. 234. His imprisonment is recorded in *Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 13. He was a cordwainer who lived outside Lawford's Gate. (*BBR*, p. 15; *AB*.)

FREEK, —, Mr., pp. 225, 233, 235.

FRY, Jane, (d. 20 March 1675), pp. 119, 131, 140, 173, 174, 184. Mother of John Fry. Her daughter married Dr. Ichabod Chauncey.

FRY, John, pp. 122, 123, 131, 139, 140, 142, 185, 204, 224, 228, 253. He was apprenticed to James Robottom, and on 23 July 1649 admitted a freeman of Bristol. He was a son of above Jane Fry, and his father may have been Joseph Fry, a signatory to a letter to Hardcastle in 1670. From the burial register it would appear he married some time after 1673. On 6 Oct. 1688 a John Fry was a bondsman at the wedding of Hannah Listun to Josiah Temple. (*AB*; *BAL*, p. 376; *BBR*, pp. 5, 12, 15, 16; *MBL*, p. 198; *Wing*, II, Nos. 2254-2256.)

GARDNER, —, Mr., p. 245. (*AP*.)

GAY, —, Mr., p. 240.

GIBBS, —, Mr., p. 257. This is either Henry Gibbs, described as a merchant in Terrill's will 1679, from whom arms were seized in 1684; or it is Thomas Gibbs, a shoemaker who lived "without Pithay Gate". (*BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 109; *BBR*, p. 32; *BRS*, XXV, pp. 15, 59, 148.)

GIFFORD, Andrew (1642-1721), pp. 8, 15, 41, 46, 67, 70, 71, 145-147, 149-152, 159-162, 164, 169, 177, 179-182, 186, 187, 191, 209, 215, 216, 222, 225, 226, 229, 232, 240, 241, 245, 247, 250-258, 268. His grandson Andrew wrote to him: "He was with several others in the city of Bristol, deeply engaged in the affair of the Duke of Monmouth. He collected a considerable sum and provided ammunition." (*APB*; *BBR*, pp. 1, 7, 8, 12, 18, *BRS*, XXV, p. 273; Fuller, *Bristol Dissent*, pp. 218-231; *IJM*, pp. 130-132; *Ivimey*, I, pp. 412-415, L. G. Champion, *Farthing Rushlight*, (1961) pp. 2-6, *OR* II, p. 819.)

GILL, Tristram, pp. 177, 178. He was a leather worker originally and he is probably the glover of this name, whose daughter Susan was interred at the Redcross Lane Cemetery, 20 Oct. 1689. (*BAL*, p. 324, *BBR*, p. 16.)

GODWIN, —, Revd., pp. 72, 146. Incumbent of St. Philip's, Bristol.

GOLD, —, Mr., p. 257. (*APB*.)

GOLDNEY, Thomas, pp. 76, 242. A wealthy Quaker grocer who lived in High Street. (*BGAS*, Vol. 23, pp. 313, 317; *BRS*, XXVI, pp. 201, 234; *Latimer*, p. 267.)

GOODMAN, —, Mrs., p. 212. (*AB*.)

GOSNOLD, John, Revd. (1627-78), p. 163. He was an exhibitor from Charter House to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 1646. Approved by the Westminster Assembly in 1650 he was chaplain to Lord Grey. He signed the declaration against Venner, as of Bartholomew Close, London, in 1661. In 1669 he gathered a General Baptist Church in Paul's Alley, Barbican; he was licensed to preach at the "Musick House, Gun Alley, Little Moorfields" in July 1672. He was cited to appear before the Council in May 1677 for publishing and distributing treasonable literature. (*CR*.)

GOUGH, Elizabeth, p. 131. Probably mother-in-law of Elizabeth Gwilliam, who married Giles Gough, soapboiler, in 1681. Giles was listed as a Monmouth supporter and arms were taken from his house in 1684. (*AB*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 110; *BRS*, XXV, p. 86; *MBL*, p. 136.)

GRANT, John, pp. 204, 221, 250. Arms were seized from his home in 1684. (*AB*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 110, *BRS*, XXV, p. 129.)

GREEN, —, Lt., p. 187.

GREENWAY, —, Mr., p. 155. A Thomas Greenway was jailed for unlawful assembly in 1682. (*Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 5.) In 1684 arms were seized from the home of Samuel Greenway. (*AP*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 110; *BRS*, XXV, p. 223.)

GREGORY, Nicholas, pp. 139, 173. As another Gregory, Richard, signs the call to Fownes in 1679, it is an open question which "brother Gregory" is referred to on p. 173. (*AB*.)

[GREGORY, Richard. (*AB*.)]

GRIFFIN, Martha, pp. 99, 126, 130, 131. (*AB*.)

GRIFFIN, John, Dr., p. 242. Husband of Martha. (*OR* II, p. 819, refers to a preacher of this name living in Bristol in 1668; *AB*.)

GRIFFIN, Martha (d. 21 Aug. 1697), p. 225. Wife of Dr. John Griffin, Bristol. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 31.)

GROOME, Rachel, Mrs., p. 237.

GULSTON, William, Bishop (d. 4 April 1684), pp. 234, 235, 265. The Bishop who succeeded Guy Carleton in February 1679. He died in office.

GWILLIAM, Daniel (d. 1695), pp. 9, 51, 122, 125, 131, 160, 162, 185, 186, 193, 204, 206, 215, 223, 228-231, 235, 238, 240, 243, 257, 259, 266, 268. A merchant who sailed on various assignments for Terrill and Bodenhams. They both entrusted him with the disposal of their property and in this way Broadmead was provided with a chapel site at the close of the 17th century, and also a capital fund to support training of men for the ministry. He was linked with the Monmouth rising in 1684. He lived at one time on Lewinsmead, but by 1686 he was living on Redcliffe Hill. Gwilliam was married three times. His first wife, Elizabeth, who joined Broadmead in 1671, d. in 1681. On 1 Sept. 1682 he married Mary Hill, widow, who lived in the Castle Precincts, Bristol, and whose maiden name was Warr. She d. on 2 Oct. 1690. His third wife, the widow of Dr. Icabod Chauncey, Mary, he married in 1691. She d. 1736. In *Records*, p. 140, Terrill claims that Mrs. Chauncey was formerly Mary Fry. Mathews in *CR* claims that Chauncey's wife was Mary King. One of his daughters married George Fownes, Jnr., which accounts for the following entry in the Redcross Lane Register: "1692/3 Feb. 23 Daniel, the son of George Fownes, (minister of the Gospel) and grandson of Daniel Gwilliam was interred" (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 18, 21, 26; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-1671*, pp. 161-164; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 111; *CR*; T. J. Manchee, pp. 275, 280; *MBL*, p. 136.)

GWILLIAM, Elizabeth, Mrs. (d. 17 July 1681), pp. 137, 225. First wife of Daniel Gwilliam. (*AB*.)

GWILLIAM, Elizabeth, Miss, p. 237. She married Giles Gough, soapboiler 1681. (*AB*; *MBL*, p. 136.)

GWYN, —, Mr., p. 215. (*AB*.)

HAGGATT, —, Mr., pp. 103, 254. He was a grocer who stood for election in 1654 as MP for Bristol. (Details are given in *BRS*, XIII, ii, pp. 6, 179-181; *BRS*, XXVI, p. 202.)

HAGGETT, —, Mr., pp. 77, 235.

HALL, Thomas, pp. 143, 144, 173, 185, 205, 228, 253, 257. Admitted a Burgess of the city, as a nailer, after marrying Margaret Lunt, he became a smith on James' Back, Bristol. (A Thomas Hall and his wife left their 18 month old son in St. James' parish in 1675. Thomas, Jnr., was placed with Alice Browne, widow, the parish overseers paying her 1/6d per week. The money was not paid, and after 14 weeks the case came to court.) Thomas Hall married a second time, and this wife, Bathsheba, d. 30 Oct. 1688. He was a Monmouth supporter, arms being seized at his home in 1684. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 13; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 107; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1672-1681*, p. 115.)

HALL, —, Sister (d. 31 Dec. 1684), p. 265. (*AB*.)

HANCOCK, Edward, Revd., p. 241. He was ejected from SS Philip and Jacob, Bristol, in 1662 for nonconformity. He was preaching in London in 1664; at Yatton, Somerset, in 1669; and in 1672 he was issued with a Presbyterian licence for Horfield and Wootton-under-Edge. He was ministering in Gloucester in 1690. He was buried in Bristol on 13 March 1691. He owned land at Bathampton, Somerset and Hanham, Gloucestershire. Arms were seized at his house in 1684. (*BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 113; *CR*; *Latimer*, p. 274.)

HARDCASTLE, Anne, Mrs., pp. 35, 36, 50, 186, 190, 204. The daughter of Col. Gilbert Garrard, of Greenwood, Cheshire. The wife of Thomas, she was formerly a member at New Broad Street, Petty France, London. She was widowed in 1678. There was at least one son and a daughter of the marriage. A letter from William Hardcastle, brother of Thomas, is preserved in *BBL*, for Dec. 1679. Her sister Katharine was the wife of Vavasor Powell. (*AB*.)

HARDCASTLE, Thomas, pp. 10, 15, 34-44, 47-50, 52-54, 65, 66, 75, 129-133, 136, 137, 143-148, 152, 159-162, 166-168, 179, 182, 183, 185,

187, 190, 198-207, 211, 219, 220. (AB.)

(AB; BGAS, Vol. 65, p. 31; BRS, Vol. VI, i, pp. 18-19.)

HARFORD, Charles, p. 261. A Quaker who was previously in Newgate prison in 1682. *The Distressed Case of People called Quakers*, London, 1682, p. 37, states that for a fine of £8, goods were taken from his home to the value of £18. (*Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 11; BRS, XXVI, pp. 202, 235.)

HARFORD, William (d. 1683), pp. 59, 71, 147, 225, 242. Assistant to Henry Hynam at the Pithay Particular Baptist Church. He was baptised 30 Aug. 1666, chosen and put on trial for ruling elder 6 Jan. 1677-8; ordained to the ministry 13 May 1680. His daughter Hannah d. 5 Nov. 1684. (APB; BBR, pp. 6, 8; IJM, pp. 130-132.)

HARRIS, John, p. 121. (AB.)

HARRIS, John, p. 262 (AB.)

HARRIS, Lewis, pp. 221, 222, 231, 234.

HARRIS, Peter, p. 234. His imprisonment is recorded in *Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 13. (AB; BRS, XXV, p. 118.)

HARRIS, Thomas, pp. 8, 103.

HART, —, Mr., pp. 242, 247.

HARTE, Richard, Sir, pp. 225, 235, 265. A merchant of the city; and treasurer of the MVS from 1677-83. He also had an interest in Burnett Manor, Somerset. (BGAS, Vol. 59, p. 266; BRS, XVII, p. xxii.)

HARVEY, —, Mr., p. 258. (APB.)

HAWKINS, Martha, p. 173. (AB.)

HAWKINS, Mary, p. 142. (AB.)

HAWKSWORTH, —, Mr., p. 257.

HAYNES, Robert, pp. 84, 87. Possibly the father of David Haynes. Robert Haynes and Dennis Hollister were among those who replaced the displaced councillors by order of the Parliament in 1645, when the city was taken from the Royalists. Edward Terrill was apprenticed to David Haynes, not Robert Haynes. *Records*, p. 10, makes it clear that this Robert Haynes is to be distinguished from Mr. Haynes, the glover.

HAYNES, —, Mr., p. 109.

HAZZARD, Dorothy, Mrs., pp. 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 85, 87-91, 97, 131, 154. She was the wife of Anthony Kelly, widowed, and then married Matthew Hazzard in 1640 (not 1647 as stated in CR). She was prominent in the defence of the city against Prince Rupert, and with about 200 women and girls held the Frome Gate against repeated Royalist assaults. When Col. N. Fiennes was tried for cowardice, she was one of many who made depositions against him. An eye-witness of the siege wrote of Mrs. Hazzard, who had supported the execution earlier of the Royalists Robert Yeamans and George Birch, "Mistress Hazzard a jealous sister resolves that it is a pity but that their children's brains should be dashed out against the stones, that no more of their race might remain on the face of the earth, and if we consider how Fiennes hath dealt with the widows and their children, you could not think Mistress Hazzard singular in this opinion." (AB; IJM, p. 122; Latimer, pp. 179, 186.)

HAZZARD, Matthew, Revd. (d. 1671), pp. 13, 18, 85, 87, 88, 90, 93. Son of George Hazzard of Lyme Regis, Dorset. Educated at Oxford, he took his MA in 1627. In 1639 he was given a lectureship at St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, and on 19 Dec. 1639 became vicar of St. Ewin's, by nomination of the Bristol Corporation. His open support for the Parliamentary cause was revealed when he refused to read special prayers for the success of the King's forces against the Scottish army. Shared in the defence of Bristol against Prince Rupert. During the Civil War he was Rector of East Barnet, Herts (July 1644), during which time he refused to pay a fifth of his tithes to the sequestered rector's wife. Returned to Bristol in 1645. An eye-witness of the siege described Hazzard as a "main incendiary in this Rebellion violently egged on by his wife, whose Disciple the silly man is." Matthew voted for Jackson in the 1654 election, a revelation of his puritan sympathies. He was assistant to the Somerset Commission in 1654. He was often troubled by the Quakers in the late 1650s. After his ejection in 1662 he continued to live in Bristol till his death. (BRS, VI, i, pp. 26, 27, XIII, ii, p. 183, XVII, p. 29;

*IJM*, pp. 40-41, 122; *Latimer*, pp. 148-149, 170; *T. Richards*, p. 25; St. Ewin's Vestry Book, 1640-44.)

HEATH, —, Revd., pp. 72, 73, 146, 167, 236. The incumbent of St. Augustine's, Bristol.

HELLIER, George, pp. 65, 68, 170, 171, 173, 176, 177, 220-222, 225, 234, 235.

HELLIER, John, pp. 65, 75, 146, 147, 149-159, 161, 163-182, 220, 225, 228-232, 235-237, 240, 242-245, 249, 250, 252, 264. (*Latimer*, pp. 316, 370-372, 406.)

HENRY VIII, King, p. 81, 94.

HERBERT, Lord, pp. 169, 229, 253, 256, 261, 262. Terrill is apparently mistaken. Until 1672 the Lord Lieutenant was appointed for Bristol and Somerset, and from 1640 till his death on 4 Oct. 1660 it was William, Lord Herbert. From 22 Dec. 1660 until 1672 it was James, Marquis of Ormonde. In 1672 the Lord Lieutenant was appointed for Bristol and Gloucestershire, and it was Henry, Marquis of Worcester, from 1672 till 1688. (Bevan, *Municipal Lists*, p. 250.)

HICKMAN, —, Mrs. (d. 10 Dec. 1688), pp. 186, 187, 190. Probably Rachell Hickmond who signed call to Fownes in 1679. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 14.)

HICKS, John, Alderman, pp. 148, 155, 156, 164, 172, 176, 177, 225, 235, 257, 262, 263. This is John Hicks, mercer. For refusing to accept the office of Councillor in 1659 he was fined £200, and to be gaoled if he refused to pay. Hicks decided to accept the office, and was elected Sheriff in 1661 and Mayor in 1671 when he became an alderman. (*Latimer*, p. 289.)

HICKS, John, p. 121. A John Hicks is mentioned in charge of a Parliamentary force at the battle of Cirencester, 2 Feb. 1643. (*AB*; *BRS*, VI, i, p. 208.)

HIGGINS, Richard, p. 235. An attorney who may have supported the Duke of Monmouth, several arms being seized at his home in 1684. (*BGAS*, Vol. 2, pp. 106, 109, Vol. 59, p. 240; cf. *BRS*, XVII, p. 172, *BRS*, XXV, p. 38.)

HILL, Bridget, Mrs. (Snr.), p. 132. (*AB*)

HILL, Bridget, Mrs. (Jnr.), pp. 122, 123, 132, 137, 204. A widow in 1678, but able to give £3 to Mrs. Hardcastle; possibly the wife of Nathaniel Hill, white tanner of Broadmead, she d. in 1687. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 11.)

HILL, Francis, p. 142. Still an active member in 1720. (*AB*.)

HILL, Mary, p. 137. (*AB*.)

HILL, Roger (d. 1681), pp. 157, 175, 176, 183, 184, 224, 226. A tailor of Werburgh's parish, Bristol, he was listed in 1654 as of Pounsford, and a member of the committee for ejecting "scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers". (*AB*; *IJM*, p. 111; *MBL*, p. 52.)

HOAR, —, Mrs., p. 228.

HOBSON, —, Mr., p. 168.

HOLLISTER, Dennis (d. 13 July 1676), pp. 12, 15, 17, 18, 28-32, 47, 50, 51, 75-77, 103, 106, 110, 113. He was charged with keeping a conventicle in his house, along with another grocer, William Cooke, and causing a riot in August 1641. He was placed on the Council in Bristol in 1645 when the city returned to Parliamentary control. With the support of the City Council he was nominated as MP for Bristol in 1653, and was for a time a member of the Council of State. He led a deputation which protested at the election of Miles Jackson as MP in 1654, because Jackson had given £30 to the King's cause and signed the protestation condemning taking up arms against the sovereign. A man of wealth and standing in the city he entertained George Fox and other leading Quakers in his orchard and premises at the old Dominican Friary when they first came to Bristol. Formerly a member and an elder at Broadmead during the years 1647 to 1654, he adopted a Quaker position rejecting the Scripture and the sacraments, and seeking only the "inner light" of the Spirit. His wife, Bridget Popley, d. 13 Oct. 1671. Some members of the Hollister family stayed at Broadmead (*Records*, pp. 225, 234). (*AB*; *BGAS*, Vol. 55, pp. 159, 181, 188; *BRS*, VI, p. 19, XXVI, pp. 204, 237; *DNB*; *Latimer*, pp. 151, 240, 257; Quaker Burial Register for Bristol.)

HOLLISTER, —, Sister, pp. 225, 234. (*AB*.)

HOLLOWAY, James, p. 251. A merchant linen-draper, he married Mrs. Hannah Winter on 17 Sep. 1677. In 1679 he was involved in a City Council scheme to provide work for 500 spinners from the Bridewell prison. By 1684 the scheme had failed. Arms were seized from his home in 1684. (*BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 104; *Latimer*, p. 394; *MBL*; *Wing*, II, p. 200, No. 2509.)

HOLWEY, Jeremy, pp. 18, 103, 160, 162, 167, 169, 235. He was a mercer in Bristol with Parliamentary sympathies. He swore evidence in London on 16 Dec. 1643 against Col. N. Fiennes, which was forwarded to Bristol for the trial. He voted for Jackson and Aldworth in the 1654 election at Bristol, and was in 1656 elected a member of the City Council which he attended regularly till 8 May 1660. He was nominated for Sheriff on 5 Sept. 1660, but lost the ballot to Mr. John Knight. In 1664 he appeared before the court to obtain bail for Thomas Speed, Charles Jones and William Taylor, who were arrested for nonconformity. He was admitted to the *MVS* in 1665. He was an Independent and he made a special journey to London in 1672 to secure a licence for John Thompson to preach on behalf of the Castle Green Meeting in his Corn Street House. He was a listed Monmouth sympathiser, and his name appears among those from whom arms were seized in 1684. (*AC*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 113; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1653-71, p. 53; *BRS*, XIII, ii, p. 182, XVII, p. 31; *OR*, I, pp. 290-293, II, p. 285.)

HORE, John, pp. 178, 250, 251, 253, 256.

HUGHS, —, Mr., pp. 160, 162. "1688, Apr. 8 the daughter of Mr. Hughs late of Bristoll, millinor, whoe kept shop under Nicholas Gate, interrd". (*AC*; *BBR*, p. 11.)

HUGHES, Ann, pp. 122, 131. (*AB*.)

HUGHES, Mary, pp. 184, 205, 250, 256. In the list of those who sign call to Fownes she is described as "of Horvill". (*AB*.)

HUNT, Samuel, pp. 192, 204, 223, 224, 228, 234, 243, 253, 260, 265. He was a tailor who lived in Duck Lane, Bristol, whose wife Ann d. 8 Jun. 1693. He had five children buried in the Redcross Lane cemetery. There is another Samuel Hunt who is associated with Broadmead, a distiller. His name

appears in the Burial Register, he had premises in Christmas Street, and it is probably this Samuel Hunt who appears in the *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1672-81, p. 157. One of the Samuel Hunts had arms seized from his home in 1684. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 7, 10, 11, 13, 17, 21, 22, 25; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 109; *BRS*, XXV, pp. 90, 210.)

HUTTON, —, Mr., pp. 228, 253. (*AB*.)

HUTTON, —, Mrs., p. 253. (*AB*.)

HYETT, Benjamin, pp. 260, 264. Clerk of the peace at Gloucester. (*BGAS*, Vol. 7, p. 298.)

HYNAM, Henry, pp. 14, 59, 70, 71, 105, 115, 209. (*APB*, *BBR*, p. 1; *IJM*, pp. 130, 132, 159.)

INGELLO, Nathaniel, Revd., Dr. (1621-83), pp. 9, 14, 19, 47, 50, 99, 101, 102. A native of Bristol he received an MA from Edinburgh. He was appointed Fellow of Queens', Cambridge, 11 June 1644. His fellowship had ceased by 1647. Following approval by Westminster Assembly he was appointed to All Saints', Bristol, by the end of 1646, and was ministering to the re-formed Broadmead congregation on its return from London. His dress and love of music made him unacceptable to Broadmead, and he was appointed a fellow of Eton in 1650. In 1653 a former recorder of Bristol, Bulstrode Whitlocke, appointed Ingello as his chaplain and "rector chori" and took him to Sweden with him in November 1653. On this occasion the poet Andrew Marvell addressed his most elaborate Latin poem, *Doctori Ingello cum Domino Whitlocke*, to both of them. Ingello received a gold medal from the Queen of Sweden for his contributions to court music. He received his DD from Oxford in 1658. In July 1660 his Latin hymn *Hymnus Eucharistus* set to music by Benjamin Rogers, was performed in the Guildhall, London, when the Corporation of London entertained Charles II and the two houses of Parliament. Ingello was appointed master of the band to Charles II. He was the author of numerous works, the most important being a religious romance, *Bentivolio and Urania*, published in two parts in London in 1660. (*AB*; *DNB*; *IJM*, p. 134; *Latimer*, p. 209; *Wing*, II, p. 236, Nos. 175-187.)

IRONSIDES, Gilbert, Bishop (d. 1671), pp. 64,

72, 128. He was appointed to Bristol in Dec. 1660. His son, also Gilbert, was Bishop of Bristol from 1689 till 1691. Calamy deals with seven of the eleven nonconformists listed in his returns for 1665; his returns for 1669 are missing. Archbishop Sheldon wrote in 1670 urging his diocesans to enforce the second Conventicle Act: "It becomes us to endeavour, as much as in us lies, the promoting of so blessed a work . . . by God's help, and the assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and provisions this act contains for our great advantages" (*Underhill*, p. 105). Ironsides hired his own informers in 1670 to identify those present at Conventicle meetings. (*BGAS*, Vol. 27, p. 27, Vol. 34, p. 38, Vol. 46, pp. 350-351; *Latimer*, p. 355; *OR*, I, pp. 66, 70; *Wing*, II, p. 254; Nos. 1048-1049.)

JACKSON, Joseph, pp. 45, 240, 241, 243, 244. Joseph Jackson, the MP, d. in Jan. 1661, and although this is probably a member of the same family, he is to be distinguished from that "factious Anabaptist". (*AB*.)

JACOB, Samuel, p. 252. Imprisoned for unlawful assembly in 1682, and arms were seized at his home in 1684; living in John Baptist parish with his wife Jane and son Samuel 1696. (*AP*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 110; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 6; *BRS*, XXV, p. 87.)

JACOB, Thomas, pp. 142, 173, 174, 187, 188, 194, 197, 198, 220, 251. A baker who married Jane Young of Kenton Magna. (*AB*.)

JAMES, John (d. 1678), pp. 98, 131, 201. Came from the Swan Alley Church, London; the letter of commendation is in *Underhill*, pp. 102-104. (*AB*.)

JAMES I, King, p. 81.

JAMES II, King, pp. 65, 67.

JAMES, Mary, p. 131. There is a possible reference to her, as a widow and mother of Thomas James, silk weaver in Bristol. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 5.)

JARVIS, Prudence, pp. 131, 257. (*AB*.)

JEKELL, —, Mrs., p. 177.

JENNINGS, Mary (d. 1680), pp. 43, 131, 143, 223. Wife of Thomas Jennings. (*AB*.)

JENNINGS, Thomas, Revd., pp. 34, 42-44, 52, 123-125, 131, 139, 142-144, 173, 175, 180, 185, 186, 207, 212, 218, 223, 225, 229, 230, 234-242, 245, 246, 266, 267. (*AB*.)

JESSEY, Henry (1601-1663), pp. 15, 19, 26, 28, 29, 36, 41, 47, 48, 105, 111, 129, 142, 198, 200. Born at West Rounton, Yorks, where his father was the Rector. He went to St. John's College, Cambridge; MA in 1626. Family tutor at Assington, Suffolk, 1629. Deprived of his living at Aughton, Yorks, in 1663-4. Pastor of a separatist congregation at Southwark in 1637. In 1645 he was baptised and accepted open communion views. He was teacher at Swan Alley, Coleman Street, London, and a commissioner for the approval of worthy preachers in 1654. He was arrested in 1661 and 1662 several times, and at the ejection was ministering at St. George's, Southwark. Thomas Ewins mentions a visit of Jessey to Bristol in 1654-5 "to endeavour the settling and establishing of the minds of the people of this cittle against the pernicious doctrine of the Quakers, and I believe his endeavours were not successless in that thing." (*Church in Bristol Recovering her Vail*, p. 65; *CR*.)

JONES, David, pp. 242, 243.

JONES, John (d. 1697), p. 234. Arrested in 1675 and fined for attendance at a meeting in Woolland. In 1678 a John Jones listed in the *Bristol Sessions Book, 1672-81*, p. 155, is discharged from prison under a 1678 Act of Parliament. The *BBR*, p. 26, records the death of his daughter, Sarah Self, on 7 May 1695; and on p. 30 his death. He was a weaver who lived in Broad Street. He left a sum of £50 to the Church for distribution to the poor. (*AB*; *IJM*, p. 131. See *Underhill*, p. 252.)

JONES, Robert, pp. 122, 123, 131. (Cf. *BRS*, XIII, ii, p. 171, *AB*.)

JONES, Thomas, pp. 122, 123, 131, 185, 228. The *BBR* records two Thomas Jones, one a cordwainer and the other a shoemaker. It is probably one and the same person. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 14, 19, 22; *BRS*, VI, i, p. 169; XIII, ii, p. 100.)

JONES, —, Mr. (d. 1715), p. 254. A Quaker, possibly John Jones. (*BRS*, XXVI, p. 206.)

JONES, —, Mr., p. 117.

JONES, —, Mr., p. 231.

JONES, Ann, Mrs. (Snr.), p. 132. (*AB*.)

JONES, Ann, Mrs. (Jnr.), p. 131. (*AB*.)

JORDAN, Elizabeth (d. 29 Dec. 1696), p. 138, 139. Probably the daughter of John Jordan. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 29.)

JOYNER, —, Mr., pp. 228, 242, 255, 256, 259, 262, 265.

KEACH, Benjamin (1640-1704), p. 236. A General Baptist Minister, a tailor by trade, of Winslow, Bucks. He became an elder at Southwark in 1668, and moved to a Particular Baptist position at this time. He established a church at Horsley Down, where he was an enthusiastic advocate of congregational hymn singing, as distinct from singing paraphrases of psalms. (*Wing*, II, pp. 288-289, Nos. 44-108.)

KELLY, Anthony, pp. 13, 84, 85.

KEMP, William, pp. 202, 222, 228, 252. This is William Kemp, Junior, who married Mary Seagar of St. James', Bristol, on 15 Jul. 1678. He was a bodicemaker of St. Thomas', Bristol. His father was William Kemp, cordwainer, of St. James', Bristol. (*AB*; *MBL*.)

KIFFIN, William (1616-1701), pp. 19, 27, 70, 98, 185, 186. Apprenticed to Leveller, John Lilburne, he became a Baptist in 1641, joining Spilbury's London church. In 1644 he became pastor of the Devonshire Square Baptist Church, London, till his death. He was a wealthy woollen merchant with considerable influence in the city of London, as well as amongst Baptists. (*Wing*, II, p. 296, Nos. 423-426.)

KIMBAR, Anne (d. 1683), pp. 143, 144, 204, 252. Anne Kimbar was the wife of John who owned the coffee house near the Tolzey and St. Ewins, Bristol. In the *CSPD* for 1680-1, pp. 250-251, this coffee house is noted as a centre for nonconformist intrigue. John d. 22 Apr. 1679; Anne conformed to the established church a month before her death. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 1.)

KINETON, Joyce, Miss, pp. 189-190. She was the daughter of Peter Kineton. (*AB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 205.)

KINETON, Peter, pp. 188, 261. (*AB*.)

KING, Richard, pp. 131, 162, 173, 185, 186, 193, 194, 204, 223, 226, 228. He was born in 1613. He came to Broadmead from London, where he was a member at Pinner's Hall of which Anthony Palmer and George Fownes were pastors. He officially transferred his membership to Bristol in 1676. He caused a scandal by marrying his maid, Elizabeth Kelley, of Redcliffe, when he was 68. Richard King's son, also Richard, was a pipemaker, and is mentioned in an article about Bristol Pipemakers. (*BGAS*, Vol. 45, p. 181; *AB*; *MBL*.)

KITCHEN, —, Mr., pp. 71, 72, 145, 225, 240. A General Baptist leader in Bristol.

KNIGHT, John, Mr., pp. 8, 64, 128, 133. This is Mr. John Knight, the cousin of Sir John Knight, the elder. He was born in 1616. He left Bristol during the Commonwealth period and bought extensive land in the Fens. He returned to Bristol after 1650, became a merchant involved in the sugar baking business, and the owner of the Great House on St. Augustine's Back, Bristol. He was elected a Councillor in 1653-4; and 1661-79; sheriff, 1664-5; and Mayor 1670-1. His first wife, Mary Parsons, was from a well-known dissenting family in Somerset. He married his second wife, Mary Latche, in 1651. Though a competitor in the sugar trade, Mr. John Knight was a known dissenter and protected those who shared his views. For this reason Sir John Knight, the elder, complained about him to the Privy Council. The King kept Mr. John Knight in prison during his time as Mayor, until Apr. 1671, when Sir John Knight, the elder, was severely reprimanded by the King for his behaviour, and Mr John Knight was released. (*BGAS*, Vol. 68, pp. 110-164, Vol. 70, pp. 119, 125; *Wing*, II, p. 302, No. 683.)

KNIGHT, John, Sir (I), the elder (1613-1684), pp. 8, 33, 61, 73, 77, 117-119, 127, 150, 170, 190. This is John Knight who was a wholesale grocer in the Temple district of the city. Elected Sheriff in 1660; alderman 1662-83; Mayor 1663; and MP for Bristol 1660-80. He was Anglican and Royalist and involved with his cousin, Mr. John Knight, above, in the sugar trade. He also had a son, John Knight, who was born 1644. (*BGAS*, Vol. 68, pp. 110-164; Vol. 70, pp. 119-125.)

KNIGHT, John, Sir (II), the younger (d. 1718), pp. 230, 233, 234, 236-239, 241-245, 265. He was a son of Mr. John Knight and Mary Parsons. He was a city councillor 1674; 1679-85; and 1688-1702. He was sheriff 1681-82, and Mayor 1690-91. He was MP from 1689-95. He was knighted in 1682. Usually referred to in the *Records* as "sheriff Knight". (*BGAS*, Vol. 68, pp. 110-164, Vol. 70, pp. 119-125; *BRS*, XXV, p. 132.)

KNIGHT, —, Revd., pp. 249, 252. A report of the incident in the text is found in the *CSPD*, for 1683, written by John Hellier to Secretary Jenkins.

KNIGHT, Mary, pp. 186, 187, 225. (*AB*.)

LAMBERT, —, Mrs. (d. 5 Nov. 1689), p. 255. The wife of soapboiler Silas Lambert. Their daughter Martha d. 5 July 1686. One of their daughters married Jacob Morgan. Silas still living in St. John Baptist parish in 1696. (*APB*; *BBR*, pp. 9, 16, 19, 25; *BRS*, XXV, p. 90.)

LANE, George, Sheriff, pp. 103, 170, 233. He was a sugar merchant; and owner of the Great House, Augustine's Back, where he entertained James II in 1688. (*BGAS*, Vol. 42, p. 114.)

LANE, —, Mrs., p. 239.

LANE, —, Sister, p. 137 (*AB*.)

LANDSDOWN, Thomas, p. 234. Imprisonment recorded in *Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1701*, p. 13. (*AB*.)

LANGFORD, Richard, p. 84. There is little ground for the rather large claim made by Ignatius Jones, *Bristol Congregationalism*, that Congregationalism was born within the walls of the castle in the reign of James I in this man's house. (*AC*.)

LANGTON, Thomas, Sir (d. 1673), pp. 125, 127. An apprentice of William Cann, Langton married Cann's daughter and added wealth to wealth. Master of the *MVS* in 1664 he was knighted by the King in the same year. He was Mayor of Bristol in 1666. (*BGAS*, Vol. 29, pp. 25-26, Vol. 49, pp. 108-210.)

LANGTON, —, Mr., pp. 249-250. A JP of Whitchurch, Somerset.

LAWFORD, John, Alderman (d. 1688), pp. 119, 125, 127, 148, 167, 173-176, 222, 225. A grocer, he was Sheriff in 1654, Mayor in 1664.

LAWRENCE, —, Mrs., pp. 254, 255. Possibly wife of Griffith Lawrence, sailor; he d. 1695. (*BBR*, p. 26.)

LEGG, —, Mrs., p. 257. Possibly wife of Richard Legg, from whom arms were seized in 1684. (*BBR*, p. 260; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 108.)

LEVINS, —, Judge, p. 264.

LEWIS, James, pp. 204, 205, 241. Described in Terrill's will as a gentleman of the Castle Precincts, Bristol. (*AB*; *MBL*, p. 124.)

LEWIS, Robert (d. 6 Dec. 1691), pp. 139, 173, 185, 228, 231-237, 241, 257, 259, 261. A shoemaker, living "outside Lawford's Gate". He was imprisoned during 1682. His wife, Elizabeth, d. 14 Dec. 1690. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 8, 12, 18, 20.)

LEWIS, —, Mr., p. 144. (*AB*.)

LEWIS, Cicily, Mrs., pp. 207, 208. (*AB*.)

LEWIS, Sarah, p. 250 (*APB*.)

LINGWOOD, —, Mr., pp. 194, 196. (*AB*.)

[LINGWOOD, Hannah. (*AB*.)]

LISTUN, Thomas (d. 1701), p. 205. He was a Bristol Merchant who married Mary Stephens, 2 Feb. 1685-6. The death of his daughter, Dorothy, is recorded 7 Aug. 1699. A Thomas Listun was sheriff in 1688. He is related to Dorothy Terrill, who was a member of the Listun family; and also to William Listun. (*APB*; *BBR*, p. 33; *MBL*.)

LISTUN, William, pp. 18, 48, 82, 87, 96, 251. Apart from *Records*, the only mention of a William Listun is in the *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, pp. 8, 11, where he is described as "a prisoner at home" on suspicion of adultery with Mary Arthur. He was eventually "acquitted by proclamation" but bound over "to maintain ye bastard child born of her bodie". (*APB*.)

LITTLE, Humphrey, p. 158. Presumably this was Humphrey Little, who was sheriff in



- 1668, but not in 1674-5 as Terrill states here. MAYNARD, Judith, p. 131. (*AB*)
- LLEWELLYN, —, Sister, p. 142. (*AB*) MEREDITH, —, Mr., pp. 45, 244, 246, 248, 258, 261.
- LORD, Sarah (d. 6 July 1682), p. 244. A daughter of Mrs. Young. MESSENGER, Anne, Mrs. (d. 23 June 1684), pp. 137, 263. Probably the mother of John and Elizabeth Messenger. (*AB*)
- LOTT, —, Mr., p. 257. Possibly George Lott from whom arms were seized in 1684. (*AP*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 108; *BRS*, XXV, p. 282.) MESSENGER, Elizabeth, Miss, pp. 209, 212, 260. Possibly she married Thomas Mouncey on 29 July 1692. (*AB*; *MBL*.)
- LOVE, —, Mr., p. 242. MESSENGER, John, pp. 209, 212, 228, 243, 252, 257, 258, 260. An imprisonment is recorded for 1682 in *Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 6. (*AB*.)
- LOVERINE, Deborah, p. 131. (*AB*) MILLARD, —, Mr., pp. 260, 265. (*AB*.)
- LOWE, Jane, p. 226. (*AB*.) MILLER, John, p. 257. The pastor of Yeovil Baptist Church. (*Ivimey*, II, p. 557.)
- LUGG, Thomas, pp. 225, 227, 231, 232, 253, 254, 256, 259-262, 264. He was a hosier and his name appears in *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, pp. 161-164, as living in Broadmead on 29 May 1670. He is not to be confused with Thomas Lugg of Gloucester, see *BGAS*, Vol. 58, pp. 261, 262, 273. MOGGS, Martha, p. 121. (*AB*.)
- LUX, Elizabeth (d. 16 Mar. 1686), pp. 131, 191, 205, 266. Wife of Nicholas Lux, sailor, they lived in Austin's Back, Bristol. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 10.) MOONE, Richard, pp. 31, 51, 84, 89, 90, 111, 113. (*AB*.)
- MALLARD, Mary, pp. 179, 183, 184. (*AB*.) MOORE, —, Sister, p. 126. (*AB*.)
- MARSH, Richard, p. 242. A Quaker merchant. (*BRS*, XXVI, p. 209; *Latimer*, p. 408.) MORE, —, Sister, p. 121.
- MARSH, Sybble, p. 131. (*AB*.) MORETON, —, Mr., p. 185. A London Baptist minister.
- MARTIN, Ann, pp. 225, 247. (*AB*.) MORGAN, Eleanor, pp. 218, 219. (*AB*.)
- MARY, Queen of England, p. 81. MORGAN, Elizabeth, Mrs. (d. 27 July 1696), p. 132. A relative of Robert Bodenham's, she was the wife of William Morgan, a sailmaker. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 28.)
- MASON, John, p. 200. Member of Southwark Baptist Church, London. MORGAN, John, pp. 122, 123, 131, 185, 205, 228, 234, 256, 262. He was married to Judith Watkins, and it is likely he was an upholsterer living in Temple Street. He was imprisoned for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. In 1682 he was imprisoned again. He suffered considerably from distraint upon his goods. (*AB*; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, p. 51, *1681-1705*, p. 11; *BRS*, XIII, ii, p. 84.)
- MAURICE, Henry (d. 1682), p. 226. Vicar of Bromfield, Salop, in 1661; rector of Church Stretton, June 1668 till June 1672. When he resigned his living he became a nonconformist under licence at Acton Pound and Much Wenlock. An enthusiastic itinerant preacher, he travelled widely in Wales, though based upon Abergavenny. Joshua Thomas claims him as a Baptist, *Thomas MSS*, p. 256. (*Underhill*, pp. 511-518 gives a full list of churches in Wales, compiled by Maurice and sent to Edward Terrill in 1675.) MORGAN, Judith, Mrs., pp. 122, 131, 256. Wife of the above John Morgan. (*AB*.)
- MOSELY, Hannah, Mrs., p. 184. (*AB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 98.)

MOSELY, —, Mr., p. 205. In 1682 a Thomas Mosely was committed to Newgate prison, Bristol, "for unlawful assembly" (*Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 5). Arms were taken from the home of Oliver Moseley in 1684 (*BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 105.) *The Distressed Case of the People called Quakers*, London, 1682, p. 37, records Thomas Mosely's fine as £8, but complains that goods worth £13 were taken. (*BRS*, XXVI, pp. 210, 245.)

MOSTON, —, Mr., p. 84.

MOYER, —, Sister, p. 245. There is no entry for her in the Burial register. Possibly the wife of Samuel Moyer, a Baptist Fifth Monarchist who sat as an MP in the Barebones Parliament. He was an ardent republican and an astute financier. (*AB*; L. E. Brown, *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy*, 1911, pp. 10, 33, 58, 174, 182.)

MUNDAY, Joan (d. 3 Nov. 1684), pp. 131, 265. Lived at Busselton. (*AB*.)

MUNDAY, Thomas, pp. 14, 18, 28, 70, 105. A Thomas Munday married Elizabeth Hewes, 16 March 1639. He was a soldier in Parliament Army during the siege of Bristol and recorded evidence against Col. N. Fiennes, whom he believed to have betrayed the city to the Royalists. He was admitted to Pithay after baptism, on 18 June 1653. It is possibly this Munday who signed the 1644 Confession of Faith of Particular Baptists. (*MBL*; *A True relation of Col. Fiennes, his tryall* (1644), pp. 27, 44; *IJM*, p. 130; *APB*.)

MURRY, —, Mrs., pp. 51, 137, 142, 191, 192 (*AB*.)

NELSON, —, Mr., p. 237.

NETHWAY, —, Mrs., pp. 14, 27, 99, 102. The wife of Richard Nethway, a Bristol brewer. Evidence of her husband's considerable trade involvements can be seen from *BRS*, VI, i, p. 26; XIII, ii, pp. 43, 77, 100, 181. The impudent nature of Richard Nethway is related by *Latimer*, p. 210. (*AB*.)

NEWTON, John, Sir, pp. 45, 246, 248, 251, 254, 258.

NEWTON, Robert, p. 234. His imprisonment recorded in *Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 13. He married Mary Gregory, 15

July 1682. He was a serge-weaver who lived in Temple Street, Bristol. The burials of two of his children are noted in *BBR*, pp. 21, 22. (*AB*.)

NICHOLAS, —, Mr., p. 230. A sugar baker in Temple Street, Bristol. (*AB*.)

NICHOLAS, —, Mrs., pp. 228, 240, 245. Wife of the above. (*AB*.)

NOBBS, James, pp. 226, 269. In the 1656 Confession of Somerset churches he is listed as a minister of Sodbury, and is still there in 1681. (*BBR*, p. 27, speaks in 1695 of a "Mr. Nobbs, pastor of the Congregation in the Castle"; *IJM*, p. 156.)

NORTH, Roger, p. 166. For the details of the family, see *Lines of the Norths*, in Bristol City Library, and *Latimer*, p. 372.

NUTTALL, William, p. 201. Deacon at Southwark Baptist Church, London. (See also *Underhill*, pp. 104, 120.)

OLDFIELD, —, Mr., p. 265.

OLLIVE, Ralph (Snr.), pp. 65, 145, 148, 151, 167, 168, 173-177, 180, 181, 221, 222, 225, 232, 234, 235, 237, 246-251, 253, 254, 257, 260. He was a vintner and inn-keeper of the Three Tuns Inn, Bristol. Elected sheriff in 1664 and Mayor in 1674 and 1683.

OLLIVE, Ralph (Jnr.), pp. 159, 229, 230, 233. Son of the above.

ORCHARD, Mary, pp. 183, 184. One of her daughters married Richard Greenwell, cooper, Redcliff Street, Bristol. Mary was still an active member in 1720. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 21, 31.)

OWEN, Anne, Mrs., pp. 122, 125, 242. (*AB*.)

OWEN, John, Revd. Dr. (1616-83), p. 200. See *Underhill*, pp. 148, 150, 152, 155 for details for the correspondence which refer to Owen. He was a Puritan divine educated at Queen's College, Oxford. He was ejected for refusing Laud's statutes in 1637. He eventually became an Independent minister and ministered in Fordham, Coggeshall and London. He was a voluminous author who shows deep insight into spiritual matters. (*CR*; *DNB*.)

PAGE, —, Mr., p. 228. (*AB*.)

PALMER, Anthony, Revd. (d. 1678), pp. 44, 47, 187. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford; MA 1641. Minister at Bourton-on-the-Water 1646-60. He ministered at Pinner's Hall, London, a mixed Baptist-Independent church, where George Fownes, Snr., was for a time his co-pastor. (CR; *Wing*, III, p. 8, Nos. 216, 218, 219.)

PARSONS, —, Mr., p. 264.

PARSONS, Grace, p. 184. Possibly married Thomas Dapwell, mercer, of All Saints', Bristol, on 22 Nov. 1679. (AB; *MBL*.)

PARSONS, Martha, Mrs., p. 197. (AB.)

PARTRIDGE, Nathaniel, Revd. (d. 1684), p. 144. Approved by the Westminster Assembly for ordination on 16 Dec. 1647. After livings in Warwickshire and Oxfordshire he went to Ireland with Charles Fleetwood. In 1652 preaching frequently at Christchurch and St. Catharine's, Dublin. He was ejected from St. Albans in 1662; licensed as an Independent in 1672. He was frequently imprisoned. (CR.)

PATIENT, Thomas (d. 1667), pp. 33, 61, 70, 118. His arrest is noted in the *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1653-71, p. 52. He was released from prison in 1664 when sureties were provided for his appearance at the next sessions. An Independent prior to 1640, he became co-pastor with William Kiffin in that year, signing the London Confession of 1644 and 1646, and *Heartbleedings for Professors Abominations*, which was sent out by the London ministers in 1650. He went to Ireland with General Fleetwood where he ranked alongside Christopher Blackwood as one of the ablest preachers of his day. He held a lectureship at Dublin Cathedral. In 1654 he published his *Doctrine of Baptism*, and in 1657 he identified himself with a letter from baptised Christians in Dublin which was sent to Cromwell. At the restoration Patient returned to Bristol and was for a time co-pastor with Henry Hynam at the Pithay. On 28 June 1666 he was again appointed an elder in Kiffin's church. (APB; L. E. Browne, *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 137, 153, 163; *IJM*, p. 130; *JEH*, XVII, No. 2, p. 220; *Wing*, III, pp. 20, 718-720.)

PAYNE, John, p. 234. (AB.)

PEGLER, —, Mr., p. 248. The death of a

Mr. Pegler who lived on Lawrence Hill, outside Lawford's Gate "amongst the Glass-houses" is recorded on 12 Sept. 1699. It may be John Pegler, who married Elizabeth Keech on 1 March 1689. (AB; *BBR*, p. 22; *MBL*.)

PELL, Moses, Mrs., p. 256.

PENNILL, —, Mr., pp. 13, 97. (AB; *Latimer*, p. 151.)

PHELPES, —, Mrs., pp. 184, 205. (AB.)

PHILLIPS, David, p. 249. His imprisonment for refusing to pay the fine is recorded in *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1681-1705, p. 6. Arms were seized from his home in 1684. *BRS*, XXV, p. 222, lists a David Phillips living in St. Werburgh parish, 1696. (AB; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 106.)

PHILLIPS, Mary, pp. 179, 183, 184. (AB.)

PHRIG, —, Sister, p. 144. (AB.)

PIERCE, Henry, pp. 122, 125, 131, 136, 242. He was a journeyman shoemaker, *Underhill*, p. 110. (AB.)

PLAYER, —, Mr., pp. 45, 246, 248, 249, 257, 264, 265.

PLEDWELL, —, Revd., pp. 73, 146, 167, 240. The incumbent of St. Peter's, Bristol.

POLLETT, —, Mr., p. 235.

POPE, Michael, (1632-1723), pp. 9, 10, 162, 259. For a full discussion of Michael Pope's connection with the Whitsun Court sugar business see *BGAS*, Vol. 65, pp. 1-95. Arms were seized from his home in 1684. He married Martha Hooke on 20 Mar. 1671-2. With others in March 1682 he signed a petition requesting improvement of prison conditions for the Quakers, *Distressed Case of People Called Quakers*, 1682, pp. 30-31. (*BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 109, Vol. 59, p. 242; *BRS*, XXVI, p. 250; *MBL*.)

POPE, —, Sister, (d. 14 June 1684), pp. 137, 262. Probably related to above. Living in Whitsun Court, 1696. (AB; *BRS*, XXV, p. 82.)

[POPE, Thomas. (AB; *BRS*, XXV, p. 44.)]

POPWELL, Sarah, pp. 132. (*AB*)

POULDEN, Grace, p. 183. (*AB*.)

POWELL, James, p. 103.

POWELL, —, Justice, p. 265.

POWELL, Nathaniel, p. 230.

POWELL, Thomas, pp. 244-246.

POWELL, Vavasor, (d. 27 Oct. 1670), pp. 36, 129, 198. See *Underhill*, pp. 108, 115. (*AB*; *DNB*; *Wing*, III, p. 72, Nos. 3078-3095.)

PRICE, Grace, p. 131. (*AB*.)

PRICE, Matthew, p. 157. (*AB*.)

PRICE, —, Mr., p. 174.

PRITCHARD, John, pp. 123, 253. A school-master who d. 27 July 1682. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 4.)

PROSSER, Enoch, pp. 236, 237.

PURNELL, John, (d. 10 Feb. 1686), pp. 19, 122, 143, 144, 173, 185, 205, 206, 228, 256, 264. Son of Robert Purnell. He was an ironmonger living in Maryport Street, Bristol. 9 May 1676 he married Martha Tilley. In 1678, following two acts of Parliament allowing the discharge of debt prisoners, a John Purnell is listed as one of those freed. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 3, 10; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1672-81, p. 155; *MBL*.)

PURNELL, Lydia, Mrs., pp. 142, 256. Wife of the above. (*AB*.)

PURNELL, Robert, (1606-66), pp. 6, 12, 15, 19-27, 29, 31, 33, 34, 47, 48, 50, 51, 111, 113, 117, 122. (*AB*; *BRS*, XIII, ii, pp. 37, 180; *Wing*, III, p. 100, Nos. 4232-4244.)

QUARLES, —, Mr., p. 170.

RALPHSON, Jeremiah, (1626-1684). p. 205. Educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, he was fully committed to the Commonwealth as an Independent preacher in various places. He was involved in the Farnley Wood Plot, and was constantly on the move to avoid arrest. He often used his father's name of Ralphson, but his real name was Jeremiah Marsden. (*CR*.)

RANDALL, —, Mr., p. 256. (*AB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 220.)

RAWLEY, —, Mr., p. 257. (*AP*.)

RAWLINS, Joan, Miss, pp. 131, 246. *Records* states her death as 5 Nov., but the Burial Register records her interment on 30 Dec. 1682. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 4.)

READ, Pug, Mr., p. 261.

RICH, —, Capt., p. 116.

RICHARDSON, —, Mr., p. 160. Arms were seized from the home of a John Richardson in 1684. (*AC*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 106.)

RICKETTS, William, p. 246.

RIDLEY, Martha, Mrs., pp. 207, 208, 255. She was the daughter of John Robinson. (*AB*.)

RIEVES, Thomas, (d. 4 Dec. 1704), pp. 34, 121, 131, 139, 173, 177, 185, 186, 197, 223, 228, 245, 259. It is possible he was a tailor by trade, who married Ideth Watkins, 23 Sept. 1670. (*AB*; *MBL*.)

RIVERS, —, Mr., p. 173. (*AB*.)

ROBERTSON, John, pp. 184, 204. (*AB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 71.)

ROBINS, —, Mr., p. 177.

ROBINSON, Abigail, p. 131. A "S. Robinson" (*Records*, p. 178) d. 5 Dec. 1675, but it is not clear which one. (*AB*.)

ROBINSON, George, p. 131. See also *Underhill*, p. 101, where he is signatory to a letter commending Anne Wade, in 1669. (*AB*.)

ROBINSON, Jane, p. 131. A "S. Robinson" (*Records*, p. 178) d. on 5 Dec. 1675 but whether it is Jane or Abigail is not clear.

ROBINSON, John, pp. 248, 254. In his will he left some 13 acres of land at White House Mead, Bedminster, Somerset, to establish a fund to assist poor members of Broadmead. One of his daughters is Martha Ridley. (*AB*; T. J. Manchee, *Bristol Charities*, p. 285.)

ROBINSON, —, Mr., pp. 70, 171.

ROSS, Thomas, p. 248. (*BGAS*, Vol. 58, p. 197.)

ROSTER, —, Mr., p. 205. (*AB*.)

ROWLEY, Elizabeth, Mrs., pp. 189, 190, 223. (*AB*.)

RUMSEY, —, Mr., pp. 230, 233, 235. Town Clerk of Bristol.

SAGE, —, Mrs., p. 256. (*AB*.)

SANDFORD, —, Mr., p. 243.

SANDY, Susanna, pp. 126, 131. This is probably Susanna Dennis, who married Timothy Sandy, a bodicemaker near the High Cross, Bristol. The death of their son Richard is recorded on 16 Sept. 1699. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 34.)

SAUNDERS, Silvester, Mrs., (d. 28 Dec. 1698), pp. 122, 131, 167, 205, 256. This is the wife of Thomas Saunders. Her maiden name was Davis. Her husband was a Colonel in the New Model Army in the 1650s, a noted Fifth Monarchist, and a supporter of Monmouth, whose house was searched for arms in 1684. Saunders also signed a petition for the improvement of prison conditions for Quakers in 1682. *Distressed Case of People Called Quakers*, 1682, pp. 30-31. Living in St. Ewin parish, 1696. (*AB*; L. E. Browne, *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 11, 70, 185, 191, 195; *BBR*, p. 32; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, pp. 107, 110; *BRS*, XXV, p. 51.)

SAYER, —, Mr., p. 239.

SCIPHARD, Philip, p. 128, 129. (*AB*.)

SCROOP, Thomas, pp. 160, 162, 167, 235, 238. He was the son of the regicide Col. Adrian Scroop, Governor of Bristol during the Commonwealth period. Thomas was a local merchant, who married Mary Hooke on 7 Oct. 1661. One of their sons, John, eventually became Recorder and MP for Bristol in the 18th century. Thomas was admitted to the *MVS* in 1663, and was frequently involved in negotiations for the Society with the authorities in London. His name appears among a group taken for "unlawful assembly" in 1675, but he was later discharged. He generously gave a £500 bond towards the security of George Fownes in Jan. 1681. Arms were seized from his

home, and the local blacksmiths, in 1684. Living in Werburgh parish in 1696. (*AC*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, pp. 106, 113; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1672-81, pp. 102, 108; *BRS*, XVII, pp. 16, 31, 228, 229, 253; XXV, p. 222; *Latimer*, p. 225; *MBL*.)

SEAMOUR, Mary, p. 256. (*AB*.)

SEYMOUR, Margaret, p. 256. (*AB*.)

SHAELL, Margaret, (d. 30 Nov. 1695), p. 131. Died at Robert Bodenham's house, aged about 80. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 27.)

[SHAWLES, Mary. (*AB*.)]

SHIP, Richard, pp. 215, 216, 225.

SHIP, —, Mrs., (d. 2 Feb. 1682), pp. 139, 214, 215, 220, 225, 247. The wife of the above. (*AB*.)

SHIP, William, pp. 213, 215.

SHUTER, Caleb, p. 256. He was a sailor, whose daughter Elizabeth d. 29 July 1688. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 12.)

SHUTER, Elizabeth, p. 132. (*AB*.)

SHUTER, John, pp. 192, 205, 219, 228, 246. He is a milliner in Redcliff, Bristol (*MBL*, p. 111). His father, also John Shuter, a milliner, d. 1670. It is probably John (Snr.) who is mentioned in a deposition in 1654. (*AB*; *BRS*, XIII, ii, p. 165.)

SHUTER, Mary, (d. 20 May 1682), pp. 131, 204, 219, 242. (*AB*.)

SHUTER, Martha, pp. 187, 192. The wife of John Shuter (Jnr.) she was still in active membership in 1720. Martha and John both living in Redcliff Street in 1696. (*AB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 117.)

SIMPSON, Robert, (1592-1677), pp. 31, 33, 50, 51, 61, 113, 117, 118, 121, 131, 142, 157, 197. Hollister refers to Simpson in the "To the Reader" section of *The Skirts of the Whore Discovered*, when he says Simpson accused him of various matters. Simpson has a long, rambling, almost incomprehensible reply in *The Church of Christ Recovering Her Vail*, pp. 28-40. Typical of his style is a letter reproduced in *Underhill*, pp. 78-80, where he requests Terrill's help

with some Greek words in a letter he is writing. The *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, p. 51, records his imprisonment for "unlawful assembly" in 1663 and his refusal to pay the fine. (AB.)

SIMMONDS, Margery, Miss, (d. 29 Oct. 1671), p. 122. Aged about 83 when she died, she left £5 to the congregation for investment and use among the poor, *Records*, XV. *Underhill*, pp. 183-4, gives a letter written by Alice Adams, *née* Simmonds, to Broadmead, from the West Indies. (AB.)

SKINKER, Mary, Miss, pp. 138, 139, 190. Probably the daughter of Thomas Skinker, from whose house arms were seized in 1684. (AB; BGAS, Vol. 2, p. 111; BRS, XXV, p. 210.)

SMART, —, Lt., p. 117.

SMITH, Dorothy (d. 6 July 1703), pp. 9, 10, 131, 208, 237, 266. (AB; *Latimer*, p. 344.)

SMITH, Elizabeth, (d. 10 Apr. 1684), pp. 191, 208. (AB; BBR, p. 7.)

SMITH, Elizabeth, (d. 1 Mar. 1677), pp. 184, 185, 191, 197. (AB.)

SMITH, Mary, (d. 19 Dec. 1689), pp. 56, 143, 144, 213-215, 220, 250. Died at the "Duke of Humphry in Wine Street" opposite the Cornmarket, Bristol. (AB; BBR, p. 16; OR II, p. 1079.)

[SMITH, Sarah. (AB.)]

SMITH, Thomas, pp. 251, 253, 260. (AB.)

SMITH, Zepheniah, pp. 120, 162. Rector of Eyke, May 1647; Vicar of Chattisham, 1650; Vicar of Bungay, Suffolk in Sept. 1656. On the death of Cromwell some parishioners "procured one Harwood, a malignant minister, to preach". Smith's supporters petitioned for a Commission of Enquiry in Nov. 1658. Smith was arrested in Bristol in 1664-5, but was released as a stranger in the city on the condition that he left it immediately. *Underhill*, pp. 519-20, quotes a letter from Smith, in Canterbury, to Terrill dated 14 May 1675, and in June 1675 he preached at Broadmead. In 1672 he was licensed as an Independent, of Stepney, Middx. He wrote a *Guide to weak Christians in these distracted times*. (CR.)

SNEAD, Nathaniel, pp. 51, 138, 173, 175, 176, 185, 193, 205, 206, 216, 223, 224, 228, 235, 238, 257. He lived in the Castle Precincts with his wife, Sarah. Arms were seized at their home in 1684. Nathaniel was probably the son of John Snead, and also related to Thomas Snead, who conformed in 1670. (AB; CR, p. 450 for T. Snead.)

SNEAD, Sarah, Mrs., pp. 135, 247. Wife of the above. (AB.)

SPARLING, —, Mr. J., p. 243.

SPURGIN, —, Mr., pp. 33, 51, 117, 121. Possibly the father of Martha Spurgin. (AB.)

SPURGIN, Martha, (d. 23 Nov. 1680), pp. 131, 204, 208, 224. (AB.)

STACKHOUSE, —, Mr., p. 229. (AC.)

STEPHENS, Elizabeth, pp. 131, 266. The MVS on 29 Feb. 1676 ordered that a weekly pension of one shilling and sixpence be allowed to her, as a daughter of William Stephens and a relative of Alderman Richard Long. She d. 4 Jan. 1686. (AB; BBR, p. 9.)

STERNE, Ann, (d. 3 May 1678), pp. 131, 201. (AB.)

STERRY, Margaret, pp. 122, 125, 131, 254. She was still an active member in 1720. (AB.)

STEVENS, Thomas, Alderman, (d. 1679), p. 173. He was sheriff 1661-2; Alderman, 1667-79; Mayor, 1668-9. By his will he established almshouses in Old Market and Temple Street, Bristol, to provide for 24 aged citizens. (T. J. Manchee, *Bristol Charities*, p. 167 ff.; *Latimer*, p. 393.)

STOAKES, —, Sister, p. 121. (AB.)

STONE, William, pp. 250, 254. (BRS, XXV, p. 195.)

STREAMER, Richard, pp. 118, 155, 157, 164, 170, 172. He was a merchant; and Mayor, 1673.

SULMER, Bathsheba, pp. 138, 139. (AB.) See also Thomas HALL above.

SUMMERS, Edward, pp. 236, 241. "—a butcher, the late Assistant of the Informers".

SWEEPER, —, Mr., p. 252. *BRS*, XXV, p. 58 may be his widow and children living St. James' Back, 1696.

SYLVESTER, —, Sister, p. 226. A member at Sodbury. Glos.

SYMM, Lydia, (d. 16 Nov. 1687), pp. 190, 191. She was the wife of Thomas Symm who pre-deceased her. She was the sister of John Burney, and was buried next to him in Red-cross Lane. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 11.)

SYMMONS, Hannah, p. 131. (*AB*.)

SYMONS, Margery, p. 131. (*AB*.)

SYMONS, Richard, (1709-1660?), p. 84. The son of Thomas Symons, he was educated at Exeter College, Oxford. Kept a school at Shrewsbury and among his pupils was Richard Baxter. He knew Walter Cradock. Later he had a school at Bampton Bryan. Was associated with Cradock in the establishment of the work in Bristol. He was in Cradock's company at All Hallows, at the opening of the Civil War. During the Civil Wars he was beneficed at Sandwich, Kent. In 1646 he was appointed an itinerant preacher in Wales, and in 1650 was one of the commissioners under the Propagation Act. At some time he was chaplain to Thomas Fairfax. He was a lecturer at Llandaff Cathedral during March 1657. He died before the Restoration. Edwards writes of him, as one who preached "toleration and liberty for all men to worship God according to their conscience"; he thought Presbyterianism was "a limb of anti-Christ" and preached "high strains of antinomianisms". He was a baptist, according to Edwards, who pleaded for "weavers and ignorant mechanics preaching". (*AB*; Edwards, *Gangraena*, part iii, pp. 76, 108-9, 160-1, 242; Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, Vol. 3, pp. 35-9; T. Rees, *Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, pp. 54-60; Richards, pp. 60-62, 85, 159; G. F. Nuttall, *Welsh Saints*, p. 10.)

TANNER, Elizabeth, p. 131. (*AB*.)

TAYLOR, Samuel Hunt, pp. 234, 245. His imprisonment is noted in *Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 11, as is an earlier imprisonment in 1664, *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, p. 55. (*AB*.)

TEAGUE, John, pp. 8, 48, 70, 160, 162. He was

baptised at Pithay 18 June 1653. He is listed as an Inn Keeper in 1653 and in 1679 as a leather seller. When St. James' Priory, Bristol, was sold by the daughters of Henry Bryne in 1666, John Teague and William Davis purchased it, and then sold it to Thomas Ellis, the Bristol merchant. He became a ruling elder at the Pithay on 6 Jan. 1677-8. John Teague and his family were living in Wine Street, Bristol in 1666. (*APB*; *BGAS*, Vol. 61, p. 180; *BRS*, XIII, ii, pp. 109, 125; XXV, p. 192; *IJM*, p. 130; *Latimer*, pp. 350-1; *OR* II, p. 819.)

TEAGUE, Rose, (d. 25 Dec. 1704), pp. 131, 191, 204, 254, 255, 268. She was living in Broadmead, 1696, *BRS*, XXV, p. 73. Rose Teague, daughter of Richard Teague, and a cousin of this Rose Teague, d. 21 Aug. 1691. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 20.)

TEATHER, Emmanuel, (d. 11 Oct. 1692), pp. 160, 228. A shoemaker in Broadmead. (*APB*; *BBR*, p. 20.)

TEATHER, Richard, pp. 126, 131. (*AB*.)

TERRILL, Dorothy, Mrs., pp. 6, 9, 10, 15, 46, 235, 266. She was a member of the Listun family, and was a widow (Heath) when she married Terrill on 29 Apr. 1668 at St. Philip's, Bristol. After Terrill's death she married Thomas Vaux, on 7 Jan. 1686. Her will of 29 July 1695 shows her considerable interest in the Pithay, when she left £500 for the use among the congregation in various ways, and a further sum for the education of young men for the Christian ministry. *BRS*, XXV, p. 117, shows Dorothy Vaux living on her own in Philip & Jacob, 1696. (*AB*; *BBL*, T. J. Manchee, *Bristol Charities*, pp. 300-301, *MBL*.)

TERRILL, Edward, pp. 1, 2, 5-17, 19, 26, 29, 32, 34, 36-40, 47-51, 53, 61-65, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75, 78, 112, 118-123, 128-131, 133, 134, 148, 152, 153, 157, 158, 160, 162, 164, 165, 167, 168, 175, 178, 180-186, 189, 193, 198, 201, 204, 206, 208, 210, 212-218, 221-223, 225, 227, 228, 231-245, 247, 249, 251, 254, 255, 256, 259, 261-263, 266. (*AB*; *BBL*, 1668; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 112; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, p. 51; *IJM*, p. 108.)

THOMAS, William (d. 26 July 1671), pp. 27, 33, 42, 123-125. Terrill refers to Thomas as of Llantrissant. *Underhill*, pp. 515-6,

claims that Llantrissant was the baptised part of the Welsh church originally meeting at Llanvaches. When the congregation returned from London in 1645, those meeting at Llantrissant consisted "mostly of Baptists, if not almost all, but are in judgment for free communion with saints as saints." In 1653 Llantrissant sent William Thomas to Abergavenny as Association Messenger. At this meeting he was asked to supply Carmarthen "with the means of grace". The Association met at Llantrissant in 1654. (*AB*; *Underhill*, p. 90, Note 3; *DNB* Wales; *OR*, II, p. 1223; *Wing*, III, p. 340, Nos. 986-991.)

THOMAS, William, p. 201. Deacon of Southwark Baptist Church, London.

THOMPSON, John, Revd. (1640-1675), pp. 70, 72-74, 145, 148-152, 155, 159, 161, 162, 167, 171, 179, 183. He was educated at Christchurch, Oxford. He was living at Dorchester in 1664 and became pastor at Castle Green Independent church, Bristol in 1670. In 1670 he was licensed to lead "worship in John Harris' house in Castle Street, Bristol." Committed to Newgate prison, Bristol, 10 Feb. 1675, and d. there on 4 Mar. 1675. There was considerable controversy over his imprisonment. Thomas Hobson, the jailer, published his account of the affair in *The Bristol Narrative*, 1675. To which a *Reply to the Bristol Narrative* was published in the same year, and most of that material will be found in Caston's *Bristol Independency*, pp. 46-52. (*AC*; *CR*; *OR*, pp. 291, 327.)

THOMPSON, —, Mr., pp. 158, 160, 162. A Presbyterian merchant. Arms were seized from the house of an Alex. Thompson in 1684. (*APB*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 106.)

THOMPSON, —, Mr., pp. 160, 162. (*AC*.)

TILLY, John, Mr., pp. 227, 228, 231, 232, 236, (*BRS*, XXVI, p. 218.)

TILLY, Martha, Mrs., pp. 131, 142, 218. Described as a widow of Whitson Court in Terrill's will 1679. (*AB*.)

TIPTON, Samuel, pp. 149, 172. He is described as a merchant in 1670, and a grocer in 1684. On 25 Oct. 1670 he married Elizabeth Teague, St. Peter's Bristol. Elizabeth, his widow, is listed as living in Christchurch in 1696. (*AB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 22; *MBL*, p. 156.)

TOVEY, Simon, p. 243. His house in St. James', Bristol was licensed for Baptist worship in 1672, and a copy of the licence is found in *Underhill*, p. 218. Arms were seized at his home in 1684. (*AB*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 107; *BRS*, XXVI, p. 218; *OR*, II, p. 819.)

TOWNE, John, pp. 245, 247. A schoolmaster, he was chosen deacon at Pithay on 6 Jan. 1677-8, and ordained to that office on 13 May 1680. (*APB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 162; *IJM*, p. 131.)

TOWNE, Richard, pp. 137, 173, 185, 189, 193, 206, 234, 236, 237, 239, 260, 264. He was a shoemaker. A Quaker before he joined Broadmead in 1672, he was imprisoned in 1682 and 1684. He had three children, Elizabeth, who d. Sept. 1681; Mary, d. Dec. 1684; and Daniel, d. 1692. (*AB*; *BBR*, pp. 3, 8, 20; *Bristol Sessions Book*, 1681-1705, p. 11; *BRS*, XXVI, p. 218.)

TROUGHTON, William, Revd., pp. 44, 145. Educated at Queens' College, Oxford, he was a chaplain to Robert Hammond, the Governor of the Isle of Wight in 1647; curate of Deerhurst, Glos., in Feb. 1648-9; and Rector of St. Martin's Salisbury, 1653, from which he was ejected in 1662. In 1665 he was living in Bristol and in 1672 licensed his own house in St. Philip's Street for Independent worship. He left Bristol for London in 1674. The will of his wife, Sarah, made in 1699, left property worth £600. (*CR*; *Wing*, III, p. 375, Nos. 2316-2320.)

TUCKER, John, pp. 162, 179. Arms were seized at the home of John Tucker in 1684. (*AP*; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 108.)

TURTLE, Mabell, (d. 19 Apr. 1699), pp. 122, 131. Living with two sons, Edward and Jacob in John Baptist parish, 1696. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 33; *BRS*, XXV, p. 94.)

TWYFORD, James, p. 265. Sheriff of Bristol in 1684.

TYES, —, Mrs., p. 247. (*AB*.)

TYLER, —, Mr., (d. Feb. 1683), pp. 204, 206, 207, 228, 231, 232, 258. (*AB*.)

TYLER, —, Mr., p. 119. Mealman of Maryport Street.



TYLER, Sarah, Mrs., p. 185. Wife of the above, still active member in 1720. (*AB*.)

TYLEY, Joshua, p. 235.

TYLY, —, Mr., pp. 245, 249, 253.

TYSON, Edward, p. 103.

VAN ITTERN, Susanna, Mrs., (d. 10 Jan. 1676), pp. 8, 121, 131, 178, 184. Wife of Godfrey, a German from Hamburg, who helped with sugar refining at Whitson Court. Godfrey was mentioned in Terrill's will 1679 and in 1687 left £20 to the poor of the parish of St. James. A Samuel and Sarah Van Ittern lived in Augustine's parish. 1696. (*AB*; *BRS*, XXV, p. 39; W. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 1789, p. 397.)

VAUGHAN, Ann, pp. 189, 190. (*AB*.)

VAUGHAN, —, Capt., p. 236. Possibly the Capt. Henry Vaughan who commanded a troop in the Parliamentary army under Col. N. Fiennes. (*AB*; *BRS*, XIII, ii, pp. 114, 141.)

VAUX, Thomas, pp. 10-15, 46, 47, 266, 268-270. (*AB*.)

VICKRIS, Robert, p. 103.

VINCENT, Thomas, (1634-78), p. 186. He was the son of John Vincent, and the elder brother of Nathaniel Vincent. Thomas was educated at Christchurch, Oxford, ordained, and then in 1662 ejected from St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London. He was a Presbyterian minister at Hand Alley, Bishopsgate, London, until his death. He is recorded as preaching in Wiltshire on a number of occasions, during 1670. (*CR*; *OR*, I, pp. 90, 281, II, 622; *Presbyterian Historical Society of England*, Vol. XI, p. 193; *Wing*, III, p. 423, Nos. 427-452.)

WADE, Ann, (d. June 1678), p. 201. See also *Underhill*, pp. 101, 179, 181. She was commended by a letter and a personal word from Ewins to a Presbyterian church at Gloucester under the pastoral care of James Forbes. She was still in fellowship there in 1673. Wife of Cromwellian Major John Wade, who was for a time governor of the Isle of Man during the Protectorate. (*AB*; *DNB*.)

WADE, Nathaniel, (d. 1718), pp. 222, 225, 238.

A son of Major John and Anne Wade, he was trained as a lawyer. *Latimer* records his involvement with about 60 dissenters over a period of three years to form an armed band, and Wade's trial and subsequent imprisonment for this at Wells Assizes in 1680. He was also involved with Richard Rumbold and others in 1683 with the Rye House Plot. When this scheme failed he went to join Monmouth in Holland, and returned with him to England in 1685. Wade was captured after the rising, betrayed the Duke of Monmouth and was pardoned on 4 June 1686. He was sent by James II to secure the support of Dissenters for the King in Bristol, and for a time replaced John Rumsey as town clerk. Rumsey was eventually reinstated but Wade remained clerk to the Sheriff's court. Wade was a member of the Independent meeting at Castle Green. (*AC*; *BGAS*, Vol. 47, p. 215; Vol. 48, p. 225; *BRS*, XXVI, p. 218; *DNB*; *Latimer*, p. 398.)

WADE, Major, p. 201. John Wade, a Cromwellian Officer, who was for a time Governor of the Isle of Man. Husband of Ann father of William and Nathaniel. He was a member of Forbes' meeting in Gloucester, though he lived at Arlingham.

WADE, William, p. 222. Son of John Wade, brother to Nathaniel.

WALIERN, —, Mrs., p. 245.

WALL, —, Mr., p. 167. Probably John Wall, a worsted seller in Maryport Yard, Bristol, whose wife Hannah d. 13 July 1690. (*BBR*, p. 17.)

WALLER, Lady William, p. 212. Sir William Waller was a distinguished General for Parliament in the Civil Wars, and this was his third wife. (*Underhill*, p. 293.)

WALTER, Henry, p. 84. The second son of John Walter, of Piercefield Park, near Chepstow. Educated at Jesus College, Oxford. His first charge was the perpetual curacy at Mynyddislwyn, Newport, Mons. Accompanied the Llanvaches group to Bristol and London, and eventually returned to Wales as an itinerant preacher in 1646, preaching mainly in the Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire areas until the Restoration. He was the first named commissioner under the Propagation Act of 1650. He originated the second Independent church at Mynyddis-

lwyn. In 1660 he was ejected from St. Wooles, Newport; in 1669 he resided at Parc-y-Pill in the parish of Caerleon. Several conventicles listed him as their teacher, and in 1672 he applied through John Williams for a licence for his house. He was still there in 1675 when Henry Maurice wrote about the various Welsh churches to Edward Terrill. (*OR*; p. 538; T. Rees, *Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, pp. 58-60; *Richards*, pp. 27, 46, 60-62, 70, 85, 104, 146, 151, 159, 268.)

[WALTERS, Lydia. (*AB*.)]

WALTON, Joan, (d. 11 Aug. 1690), pp. 131, 208, 266. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 17.)

WARREN, Benjamin, (d. 1722), pp. 192, 193, 204, 228, 232, 234, 243, 261. He was a hosier in Broadmead, who was fined for his non-conformity in 1682. His wife d. in Feb. 1690; a daughter (15 Dec. 1686) and a son (12 Mar. 1687) were also interred in the cemetery. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 10; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 6; *BRS*, XXV, p. 3.)

WASBROW, —, Mr., p. 205. Arms were seized at the house of John Washborough in 1684. (*BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 106.)

WAT, —, Mr., pp. 251, 256-260, 262, 263.

WATKINS, Elizabeth, pp. 131, 215-218, 220 (*AB*.)

WATKINS, Judith, p. 123. (*AB*.)

WATKINS, Walter, pp. 228, 229, 247, 249-253.

WATTS, Aaron, pp. 221, 222, 261. A blacksmith in Temple parish, Bristol; living in same area in 1696, with his wife, Rebecca. (*BRS*, XXV, p. 238; *MBL*, p. 68.)

WEBB, —, Mr., p. 168.

WEBB, Margaret, pp. 131, 136. (*AB*.)

WEBB, Mary, (d. 1679), pp. 132, 192, 193, 208, 212. (*AB*.)

WEBB, Mary, (d. 1687), pp. 192, 193, 235, 263, 266. (*AB*.)

WEBBER, Bridgett, (1594-1674), p. 132. *Records*, XV. See *Underhill*, p. 196, where this extract from the back of the original

book has been inserted at its chronological place in the text. (*AB*.)

WEEKS, John, (1633-98), pp. 44, 45, 70, 74, 75, 145, 146, 148, 149, 151, 152, 155, 157-162, 165-167, 170, 172-174, 177-182, 187, 210, 221, 222, 228-230, 232, 238, 240, 242-253, 257. (*AP*; *CR*; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, pp. 161-4; *1681-1705*, p. 7; Caston, *Independency in Bristol*, pp. 80-90; *Latimer*, p. 364; *OR*, III, pp. 646-7.)

WEST, Mary, (d. 1673), pp. 33, 51, 117, 131. (*AB*.)

WEY, Benjamin, Revd. (1629-80), pp. 74, 187, 190, 222, 247. Educated at Trinity College, Oxford, he was vicar of Buckland in Berkshire in 1651. He was living in Dorchester and licensed as an Independent preacher, at the house of William Heydon, in 1672. Succeeded Thompson at Castle Green, Bristol on 10 Aug. 1676. Had four sons, Richard, John, Benjamin, and Joseph. (*AC*; *CR*.)

WEY, Joseph, p. 261. A merchant who was son of the above. He married Margaret Titcomb, of Temple Parish, Bristol, on 28 Nov. 1685, and was then noted as a soap-boiler. When Margaret d. 23 May 1690, he was listed as a tobacconist of Redcliffe Street, Bristol. A Joseph Wey and his wife Ann are listed as living in Broadmead in 1696. (*AC*; *BBR*, p. 17; *BRS*, XXV, p. 74; *MBL*.)

WHARTON, Samuel, pp. 155, 162, 164. He was sheriff of Bristol in 1674.

WHEELER, —, Mr., p. 257.

WHEELER, Joan, pp. 246, 263. (*AB*.)

WHICKMAN, —, Mr., pp. 241, 248, 252. (*AB*.)

WHINNEL, Thomas, pp. 46, 48, 71, 225, 238-244, 249, 252, 253, 255-257, 259, 262, 266-269. He was a scrivener by trade who lived in the Castle Precincts. He married Mrs. Sarah Snead on 21 May 1684, and was bondsman for wedding of Thomas Vaux and Dorothy Terrill in 1687. He adjudicated in a dispute between John Ford and Andrew Gifford at the Pithay Baptist Church in 1692. Murch describes Whinnel as a Presbyterian turned General Baptist, at Taunton. This does not agree with what we know of him through

the *Records*, since he was required to acknowledge the 1677 Particular Baptist Confession before being admitted to membership. He was apparently pastor of Taunton Baptist Church from 1690 till at least 1715. (AB; Murch, *History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England*, 1835, pp. 192, 201; *IJM*, p. 132; *Ivimey*, I, p. 509; *MBL*, p. 179; *TBHS*, ii, p. 105; *Wing*, III, p. 469, No. 1667.)

WHITE, Elizabeth, Mrs., p. 212. The wife of Joseph White, she was still in active membership in 1720. (AB.)

WHITE, Joan, p. 131. Possibly the wife of Richard White. (AB.)

WHITE, Joseph, pp. 149, 204, 212, 228, 234, 237. His imprisonment is recorded in 1682. (AB; *Bristol Sessions Book, 1681-1705*, p. 11.)

WHITE, Richard, pp. 34, 122, 123, 131. "Brother Richard White, an elder of this congregation was taken ill at the meeting, as he was writing the sermon, 16th of the sixth month, went home and died the 24th following. So that when the Lord's messenger came found him well doing. He was an humble, self-denying man, and had a great gift in prayer." See also *Underhill*, pp. 110, 135, 145, 147, 153, 172, 205-7. (AB; *Records*, XV.)

WHITEHEAD, Barbara, Mrs., p. 186. She is the wife of Francis Whitehead, and was formerly a member at the Devonshire Square Church in London. (AB.)

WHITEHEAD, Francis, pp. 130, 131, 173, 186, 228, 258, 260, 264. He was possibly the Mr. Whitehead from whom arms were seized in 1684. Husband of the above. (AB; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 111.)

WHITING, John, pp. 9, 152, 153, 156, 157. (BRS, XXV, p. 168.)

WHITTINGTON, Cicilio, Mrs., (d. 9 Oct. 1691), p. 131. She signed the call to Fownes in 1679, but when she died she was described as a member of the Pithay Baptist Church. (AB; *APB*; *BBR*, p. 20.)

WIKE, Andrew, pp. 160, 162, 205, 231. A mercer who married Mary Gregson of Syston, Glos., on 4 Apr. 1667. (AC; *MBL*.)

WILKINS, George, pp. 157, 174, 175, 221.

WILLETT, Sarah, p. 131. (AB.)

WILLIAMS, Charles, pp. 170, 173. A member of the *MVS* he was Sheriff of Bristol in 1676. (BRS, XVII, pp. 30, 60, 130, 245.)

WILLIAMS, Elizabeth, p. 131. The Burial Register records in 1696 the interment of "the daughter of Mr. John Jordan of English Bicknor in the County of Gloucester, kinswoman of Elizabeth Williams, widdow." (AB; *BBR*, p. 29.)

WILLIAMS, Margaret, pp. 122, 131. (AB.)

WILLIAMS, Richard, pp. 204, 228, 235. (AB.)

[WILLIAMS, Sarah. (AB.)]

WILLIAMSON, Elizabeth, (d. 1679), pp. 132, 205, 220. (AB.)

WILLIAMSON, —, Mr., p. 247. A John Williamson had arms seized from his house in 1684. (AC; *BGAS*, Vol. 2, p. 112.)

WILLIAMSON, —, Sister, p. 269. Possibly the widow who married E. Willis, see below. (AB.)

WILLIS, Edward, pp. 142, 173, 185, 198, 228. He was a turner in Bristol. He married Mary Williamson, of St. Philip's, widow, on 22 Dec. 1692, with Henry Davis as bondman. He was still an active member in 1720. (AB; *MBL*.)

WILLIS, Elizabeth, p. 139. Possibly the first wife of above, or may be mother. (AB.)

WILLOUGHBY, John, pp. 63, 121. A merchant who was sheriff in 1657. (BRS, XIII, ii, pp. 89, 182.)

WINDOW, William, (d. 11 July 1706), pp. 160, 162. He was connected with the Pithay Baptist Church as early as 1663, when he was imprisoned for refusing the oath of allegiance. He signed a dismissal letter for Thomas Holwill in 1675. He was elected a deacon on 13 May 1680. By trade he was a hosier at the Jetty Head. He was involved in the care of the Redcross Lane cemetery, and in 1698 a meeting took place in his house to decide the tenancy of the two cottages attached to the burial ground. (APB; *BBR*, pp. 9, 14, 18 and inside the back cover;

*Bristol Sessions Book, 1653-71*, p. 51; *BRS*, XXV, pp. 30, 113; *IJM*, pp. 131-132.)

WISE, —, Mr., pp. 256, 258. A ropemaker who lived "without Lawford's Gate"; his wife's name was Ann; one of their daughters was interred at Redcross Lane cemetery 29 Apr. 1689. (*BBR*, p. 14.)

WOOD, Anthony, (d. 1687), pp. 8, 261. From 1667-87 he was associated with Terrill and Thomas Ellis in the Whitson Court sugar business, in Lewins Mead, Bristol. His wife, Joan, was born in 1635 and d. 20 Dec. 1714. They had four children, John, Joseph, Samuel and Elizabeth. (*AB*; *BGAS*, Vol. 65, p. 29.)

WORCESTER, —, Earl of, p. 263.

WRIGHT, John, (d. 1672), p. 133. He was a merchant, the son of Robert Wright, a linen draper. Admitted a burgess of the city on 5 Nov. 1642. Councillor, Sept-Oct. 1645 (not sworn), 1661-71; Sheriff, 1662-3; Alderman for St. Ewins 1669-72. (*BRS*, XIII, ii, p. 210.)

WROTH, William (c1570-1640), pp. 13, 19, 27, 83, 84, 96, 97, 102. Born near Abergavenny he was educated at Jesus' College, Oxford. He was presented to the living of Llanvaches by Sir Edward Lewis of Caerphilly, c.1617. His refusal to comply with Laud's ecclesiastical measures led to his ejection in 1636. The Llanvaches Independent church was formed in 1639. (*Richards*, pp. 28-30; T. Rees, *Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, pp. 37-42; *BGAS*, Vol. 12, p. 326, "Sir Gilbert Denys acquired the Manors of Alveston and Erdcote by the marriage of his father Wm. Denys with Margaret, daughter and heir of William Corbett, of Alveston, and relict of William Wroth.")

YATE, Mary, p. 243. Mary, the daughter of William Canne, married Richard Yate, who d. 31 Dec. 1682-3. Richard was a member of *MVS*, and served as Councillor from 1643-1661; Alderman of Trinity, 1658-61; and Sheriff 1648-9.

YEAMANS, William, Revd. (1578-?1632), pp. 13, 17, 19, 84, 88. A graduate of Balliol, Oxford, he was appointed to St. Philip's, Bristol in 1604. In 1607 the City Council appointed him as one of two Puritan

preachers for Bristol. In May 1613 the Council granted him £25 per year to preach an additional sermon on working days in the city. In 1615 he was made a prebendary of Bristol Cathedral. Alderman Matthew Haviland bequeathed him £20 to preach a funeral sermon on a given text in 1620. He may well have been the father of Robert Yeamans, the royalist traitor hung by Fiennes. (*DNB*; *Latimer*, pp. 24, 48, 71; *Richards*, p. 25; Fuller, *Rise and Progress of Bristol Dissent*, p. 15.)

YEAMANS, Robert, Sir, (d. 1687), pp. 44, 64, 128, 170, 174-176, 178, 222, 230, 235. He was the son of John Yeamans, brewer, admitted as a burgess of the city 11 Nov. 1643. Elected a Councillor in 1661; sheriff in 1662-3; alderman for St. Thomas, 1672-87. He was knighted in 1663 and received a baronetcy in 1666. Margaret, his daughter, married William Canne. Sir Robert was buried in St. Mary Redcliffe. (*BRS*, XIII, ii, pp. 203, 210, 211; *Latimer*, pp. 247, 313, 320, 321, 354, 356, 372, 391.)

YEATS, —, Mr., pp. 119, 264. (*AB*.)

YOUNG, Emmanuel, pp. 256, 262, 263, 265. Son of Sarah Young, apprenticed to Robert Bodenham. Possibly his father was also Emmanuel, a malster of Barton Hundred. (*AB*; *MBL*, p. 193.)

YOUNG, Mary, pp. 138, 139, 190, 212, 218, 230, 235, 239, 254, 256, 257, 261, 265. Still an active member in 1720, she is the sister of Richard Young. (*AB*.)

YOUNG, Richard, pp. 193, 221, 235, 237, 242, 244, 247, 251, 253, 257, 260, 261, 263, 265. He was a periwig maker, who married Elizabeth Arter, of St. John, Bristol, on 8 Oct. 1683, probably his second wife. (*AB*; *BBR*, p. 22; *MBL*.)

YOUNG, Sarah, pp. 132, 244, 256, 261, 265. (*AB*.)

YOUNG, —, Revd. pp. 45, 251, 264. Vicar of Busselton, who became a Presbyterian. (*AP*.)

YOUNG, —, Mr., p. 238. A Roman Catholic.

YOUNG, —, Mrs., p. 193. Wife of Richard Young.

(c) Places mentioned in Introduction and Text

- Abergavenny, 226  
 Almondsbury, 5, 12  
 Amsterdam, 12  
 Arlingham, Glos., 201  
  
 Barking, 74  
 Barnack, Yorks, 35  
 Barnet, East, 19  
 Bath, 45, 74, 240, 268  
 Bedminster, 28, 52, 126, 206, 241  
 Bitton, 42, 248, 262  
 Bradford-on-Avon, 74, 185  
 Bramham, Yorks, 35  
 Bridport, 74  
 Brimsfield, Glos., 34  
 Bristol, Avon, the river, 42  
     Augustine's Back, 8  
     Back St., 101, 235  
     Baldwin St., 10, 186  
     Ballance St., 119  
     Baptist Mills, 34, 42, 124, 235,  
         240, 242, 263  
     Barton Regis, 10, 43, 132, 235,  
         240, 253, 260  
     Bath St., 75  
     Black Horse Inn, 261  
     Boarden House, 241  
     Bridewell, 30, 76, 77, 154-156, 165,  
         174, 220, 228-233, 242, 244,  
         247, 254-256, 265  
     Bridge, the, 182  
     Broad St., 90, 237, 240, 247  
     Broadmead, 115, 133, 136, 155,  
         178, 184, 186, 190, 192, 197,  
         219  
     Castle, 32, 67, 71, 84, 115, 145,  
         148, 159, 161, 167, 181, 183,  
         190, 222, 227, 229, 235-238,  
         246  
     Castle, Green, 265  
     Castle St., 237  
     Cathay, 87  
     Christmas St., 99, 119  
     Clifton, 10, 197, 238  
     College Green, 182, 196  
     Corn St., 84, 109, 119, 128, 174,  
         193  
     Culver Close, 10  
  
     Dolphin Inn, 19, 90, 97, 118  
     Dungeon Cross, 258  
     Earle's Passage, 256  
     Earlsmead, 75  
     Fort, the, 10  
     Friars, the, 33, 59, 70, 78, 115, 116,  
         117  
     Frog Lane, 125  
     Froome, the river, 43, 53, 142,  
         144, 184, 185, 190, 193, 205,  
         207, 212, 218, 219, 268-270  
     Gassens Lane, 242, 243, 247  
     Gloucester Rd., 239, 240  
     Guildhall, 235, 262  
     Guilders, 85  
     Halliers Lane, 134  
     High Cross, 85, 87  
     High Street, 18, 84-86, 88, 106,  
         234, 249, 260, 261  
     Holland Ward, 262  
     James Back, 19, 33, 74, 98, 117,  
         155, 157, 178, 182, 222, 228  
     James Ward, 168, 170, 175, 178,  
         228, 257  
     Key, the, 122, 132  
     Kings Marsh, 10, 228, 245  
     Kirk, 201  
     Lamb Inn, 258  
     Lawford's Gate, 10, 64, 84, 89,  
         90, 126, 128, 139, 148, 174,  
         238, 244, 254, 256, 258  
     Lewins Mead, 90, 99, 109, 240  
     London Rd., 248, 252, 255  
     Maryport St., 103, 119, 250  
     Maudlin Lane, 10  
     Michael's Hill, 10, 126  
     Newgate, 33, 42-44, 61, 70, 73,  
         75-77, 118-120, 148-150, 154-  
         157, 161, 164, 168, 174-176,  
         182, 222, 223, 225, 230-237,  
         239, 242, 246, 254-256, 258,  
         261, 263, 264  
     Newton's Arms, London Rd., 248,  
         254  
     Quay Head, 10  
     Redcliffe Gate, 71  
     Redcliffe St., 76, 85, 88, 191, 224,  
         242, 246, 256, 268.

**Bristol—cont.**

Redcross Lane, 9, 34, 46, 209, 226, 236  
 Red Lodge, 10, 31, 75  
 Shambles, 237  
 Skinners' Hall, 109  
 Small St., 240  
 Sodbury Rd., 255  
 Sun Inn, 231, 254, 256, 258  
 St. Peter's Refinery, 7, 8  
 Temple Gate, 76-77  
 Temple St., 256  
 Thomas St., 103  
 Three Tuns Inn, 65, 174, 177, 237  
 Tolzey, 77, 87, 98, 99, 149, 156, 158, 165, 172, 175, 176, 222, 233, 237, 262, 263  
 Watergate, 161  
 Weir, 182, 227, 244, 254  
 Whitson Court, 7-10, 34, 125, 133  
 Wine St., 3, 33, 84, 89, 90, 117, 261  
 Busselton, 45, 97, 239-241, 243, 249, 251, 252, 255, 265  
  
 Cainsome (Keynsham), 97  
 Cambridge, 35, 43, 44  
 Cham, 250  
 Chard, 74  
 Chepstow, 13, 182  
 Chester, 35, 36, 203, 204  
 Chipping Sodbury, 43, 52, 266, 267, 269  
 Christchurch, 225, 240  
 Churches,  
   in Bristol,  
     St. Ann, 245  
     St. Augustine, 146, 167, 189, 257  
     All Saints, 14, 99  
     Cathedral, 13, 75  
     Christ Church, 32, 59, 103, 115  
     St. Ewins, 14, 28, 88, 98, 252  
     St. John, 184, 197  
     St. James, 7, 34, 65, 127, 145, 146, 148, 167, 197, 201, 220, 225, 234, 240, 263  
     St. Leonard, 28, 32, 70, 126  
     St. Michael, 28, 30  
     Maryport, 28  
     St. Nicholas, 28, 30, 59, 75, 85, 103, 115, 126  
     St. Peter, 146, 167  
     St. Philip, 6, 14, 17, 28, 43, 45, 103, 146, 150, 197, 218, 223, 226, 244  
     Quaker Meeting House, 229, 235  
     St. Stephen, 202

Temple, 190  
 St. Werburgh, 72, 172, 212, 240  
 in Gloucester,  
   St. John, 42  
 in London,  
   All Hallows, 14, 15, 19, 27, 28, 98, 102  
   Petty France, 39-41  
   Pinners' Hall, 44  
   Swan Alley, 36-40  
 Colchester, 72  
 Conham House, 45, 246-248, 252  
 Coventry, 2, 166  
 Crewkerne, 74  
 Crosby, Westmorland, 35  
 Cutler's Mill, 239  
  
 Devizes, 267, 268  
 Dorchester, 67, 74, 183  
 Dunkerton, 74  
 Durdham Down, 45, 238, 240, 241, 243, 247  
  
 Easton, 240  
  
 Filton (see Philton)  
  
 Gloucester, 42, 45, 46, 67, 70, 175, 182, 202, 207, 245, 248, 249, 251-254, 257-265, 267  
  
 Hanham, 242, 247, 256  
 Hamburg, Germany, 8  
 Hemel, Hempstead, 2  
 High Wycombe, 44  
 Hitchin, 2  
 Holland, 58, 66, 67, 265  
 Honiton, 203  
 Hornington, 74  
 Horvill, (Horfield), 184, 245  
  
 Ilchester, 9, 250, 252, 253, 254, 257  
 Ireland, 137, 243  
 Isle of Man, 265  
  
 Keynsham (see Cainsome)  
 Kingswood, 45, 70, 242-244, 247, 253, 258, 262, 264  
 Kingswood, Scruze Hole, 243-245, 255  
 Knowle Castle, 71, 241  
  
 Launceston, 76  
 Leeds, 35  
 Liverpool, 2  
 Llantrissant, 27, 34, 42, 123, 124

- Llanvaches, 13, 14, 19, 50, 97, 102, 103  
 London, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 26-29, 32, 33, 36-38, 41, 43, 45, 47, 50, 63, 67, 70, 75, 76, 185, 186, 198-205, 209, 210, 213, 218, 228, 235-239, 241, 243, 246, 252, 265, 266  
 Lothbury, 44  
 Lyme Regis, 90, 203  
  
 Madeira, 7  
 Mangotsfield, 52, 142  
 Marlborough, 245  
 Matson, Glos., 42  
  
 Newmarket, 241  
 North Cadbury, 74  
 North Cheriton, 74  
  
 Oxford, 2, 17, 73, 74  
  
 Philton (Filton), 96  
 Pill, 201, 249  
 Plymouth, 240  
  
 Roe Yate, 251, 261  
  
 Sedgemoor, 71  
 Shadwell, Yorks, 35  
 Sherborne, 35  
  
 Shrewsbury School, 43  
 Shropshire, 43, 226  
 Sodbury, 52, 226, 242, 246  
 Somerset, 67, 74  
 Southmead, 262  
 Stapleton, 89, 241-243, 247, 248, 251, 252  
 Swansea, 2, 242  
 Syson, 52, 144  
  
 Taunton, 68, 74, 249, 267, 268  
 Tewkesbury, 182  
 Totterdown, 255  
 Toulston, Yorks, 35  
 Trowbridge, 185, 186  
  
 Upton St. Leonard, Glos., 42  
  
 Wakefield, 35  
 Warminster, 74  
 Wells, Somerset, 74, 97, 166.  
 Westbury, 243, 262  
 West Indies, Barbados, 5-9, 67, 77  
     Nevis, 8, 55, 137  
 Westerley, 11, 13, 91  
 Westmancote, Worcs., 44, 209  
 Whitchurch, 249  
 Wiltshire, 41, 43, 74  
 Woolland, Glos., 52, 139, 143, 213, 214, 247  
  
 York, 185, 203

(d) Index of selected subjects.

- Acts of Crown and Parliament,  
 23rd Elizabeth, 248  
 35th Elizabeth, 61, 63, 167, 227,  
 265  
 Propagation (1650), 27, 103  
 Declaration of Breda, 57  
 Declaration of Ecclesiastical Af-  
 fairs, (1660), 57, 58,  
 Corporation (1661), 58, 59, 73,  
 146, 149, 225, 239, 243, 264  
 Uniformity (1662), 58-61, 70  
 Conventicle, First, (1664), 59, 118-  
 120  
 Five Mile (1665), 62, 167, 181, 221,  
 243, 245, 248, 251  
 Covenant, Second, (1670), 62-64,  
 127, 198, 203, 222, 227, 233,  
 234, 239, 242, 256  
 Indulgence, (1672), 58, 146, 148  
 Test (1673), 64, 65  
 Toleration (1689), 68, 69  
 Allegiance, Oath of, 32-35, 115  
 Anabaptists, 91  
 Anglicans, 57-61, 63, 64, 96, 99, 158,  
 227  
 Apprenticeship, 5-7
- Baptism, doctrine of, 6, 11-16, 21, 24,  
 26, 28-30, 37, 44, *see also* under  
 Baptists, Broadmead  
 Baptists,  
 Confessions of Faith, 20, 25, 48,  
 241  
 General, 22, 48, 58, 60, 71, 72,  
 144, 145, 240  
 Particular, 14-16, 27, 34, 42, 44,  
 46, 48, 58, 60, 70, 98, 105,  
 123, 124, 145, 147, 161, 199-  
 203, 206, 209, 226, 236, 237,  
 240, 242, 246, 249, 266-269.  
*See also* Baptists, Pithay  
 Bristol; and all persons in  
 index to text marked *APB*  
 Western Association, 46, 47  
 Bristol, Broadmead, *see* all per-  
 sons in index to text marked  
*AB*  
 Baptism, 47, 48, 52, 91, 92,  
 103-105, 111, 112, 124, 138,  
 142-144, 184, 185, 202, 207,  
 212, 218, 219, 225, 230, 267,  
 270  
 Baptismal Administrator, 34, 42,  
 43, 142, 207, 212, 218, 225,  
 230, 245  
 Burial Yard, 9, 34, 46, 173,  
 209, 226, 227, 262, 265  
 Church Meeting, 49, 121, 191,  
 206, 213, 259, 266  
 Communion, 6, 7, 15, 22, 24,  
 27-30, 45, 48, 51, 54, 89, 90,  
 97, 98, 101, 114, 121, 128,  
 171, 179, 183, 184, 186, 190  
 193, 194, 197, 198, 204, 220,  
 231, 240, 241, 244-248, 265,  
 266, 268, 269  
 Conference, 49, 100, 112, 113,  
 121, 128, 129, 137, 138, 232  
 Deacons, 33, 50, 51, 111, 116,  
 117, 121, 209, 223, 224, 226  
 Deaconess, 33, 51, 142, 208,  
 212, 266  
 Dedication of Infants, 53, 54,  
 94, 103-105  
 Discipline, 23, 24, 30, 31, 47,  
 55, 56, 100, 112, 113, 121,  
 128, 129, 137, 138, 187-198,  
 201, 213-218, 225, 226  
 Elders, 12, 33, 34, 39, 100, 102,  
 111, 116, 117, 130, 135, 184-  
 188, 191, 202, 207-212, 225,  
 226  
 Elders, Ruling, 122, 123, 128,  
 191, 192, 195-197, 204, 216,  
 217, 241, 266, 268  
 Excommunication, 113, 126,  
 196, 226, 231  
 Finances, 134-136, 204, 205  
 Healing, 139-142  
 Hymns, 248  
 Legal Protection, 115, 147, 166  
 168, 223, 233, 237, 257  
 Membership, 49-53, 90, 91, 99,  
 122, 137, 142, 144, 163, 183-  
 186, 189, 205, 207, 209, 212,  
 218, 219, 226, 246, 267, 270.  
*See also* all persons in index  
 to text marked *AB*, and  
 appendices of members



Baptists—*cont.*

Ministry and Ordination, 28, 33, 41, 96, 97, 102, 116, 117, 125, 128-132, 141, 160, 161, 185, 186, 198-201, 205, 206, 209-213, 266, 268, 269. *See also* Chapter II

Origins of Church, 11-19, 79-105

Persecutions, 33, 57-69, 115-120, 127, 149-180, 220-223, 227-260  
*See also* Chapter IV

Prayer, days of, 139-142, 202, 204, 206, 207, 212, 216, 218, 219, 223, 224, 228, 235, 244-249, 252, 255, 259, 263, 266, 267, 269

Psalm Singing, 48, 90, 133, 134, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 158, 160-162, 164, 169, 170, 173, 175, 178, 180, 221, 232, 235, 245

Quakers, 12, 13, 22, 28-32, 64, 76, 78, 106, 114

Records and Waste Book, 109, 112, 173, 224, 234, 261, 265

Unity, 20, 25, 159-163, 181, 187, 246, 247

Worship, 48, 49, 92, 93, 100, 185, 193, 197

Bristol, Pithay, 2, 14-18, 28, 33, 46-48, 59, 61, 65, 67, 70, 71, 105, 115, 146, 147, 148, 151, 152, 164, 176, 179, 180, 187, 222, 225, 241, 245, 247, 253-255. *See also* all persons in index to the text marked *APB*

Book of Common Prayer, 57, 58, 60, 89, 90, 93, 95, 96, 258, 262, 264

Book of Homilies, 94

Bristol Baptist Academy, 3, 5, 9

Bristol Education Society, 2

Churching, 88

Civil Wars, 97

Comet, seen in Bristol, 120, 148, 189

Congregationalist, *see* Independent.

Earthquake, felt in Bristol, 181, 182

Fifth Monarchy, 33, 58, 106, 116

Hanserd Knolly Society, 1

Hats, 56, 171, 188, 205, 232, 246, 249

Hugenots, 66

Independents (Congregationalist), 18, 21, 31, 44, 47, 58, 72-74, 91, 92, 143-147, 150, 151, 159-161, 171, 176, 177, 190, 222, 229, 237, 238, 244. *See also* persons in index to text marked *AC*.

Informers, 63-66, 128, 146, 149-157, 163, 165, 170, 173, 178, 221-223, 236, 237, 241-248, 251, 252, 254, 258, 260-262

Jesuits, 107, 108

Letters, from prison, 65, 66, 172, 252

London, fire of, 63, 120, 122

plague of, 63, 120

Lecturer, 17, 27, 28, 103, 126, 225

Music, 102

New England, 85, 88

New Notionists, 98, 99, 101, 106, 185

Parliament, 18, 24-28, 86, 87, 97, 98, 106, 114, 144, 148, 156, 172, 177, 179, 190, 192

Presbyterians, 20, 45, 52, 57-60, 74, 75, 91, 92, 114, 137, 145-147, 149, 151, 155, 157-163, 166, 170, 174, 176, 178-181, 187, 221, 222, 228, 229, 232, 238, 244-253. *See* all persons in index to text marked *AP*.

Puritans, 17, 18, 27, 68, 83, 85, 86, 97, 143

Quakers, 12, 13, 22, 28-32, 52, 56, 58, 60, 64, 67, 75-78, 105-114, 137, 139, 150, 229, 235, 254

Rebellion, Duke of Monmouth, 66, 67, 70, 71

Reformation, 81, 92, 93

Roman Catholics, 57-59, 64-67, 75, 81, 82, 91, 93, 94, 104-110, 114, 120, 122, 148, 238

Roundheads, 97

Royalists, 18, 19, 27, 57-61

Rye House Plot, 66, 67

Separatists, 13, 34, 85, 86, 90, 92-96, 122

Solemn League and Covenant, 21, 59, 60

